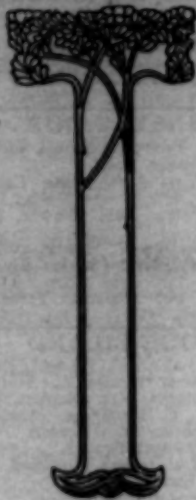


# The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

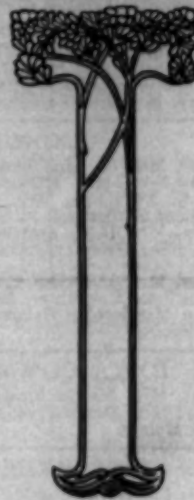
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Vol. 7  
No. 2



A "WIDE-OPEN" RENO THANKS  
SUFFRAGISTS  
TO KEEP THE FIRE BURNING ON  
THE HEARTH  
THE SUFFRAGE DEFINITION OF  
"FREEDOM"  
THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE DEFINITION  
OF "DUTY"  
THE END OF SUFFRAGE A SOCIAL  
REVOLUTION  
ENLIGHTENMENT FOR INQUIRING  
SUFFRAGISTS  
POPULATION VOTES AREA DOES  
NOT  
NEW SUFFRAGE PLEA—GIVE US  
JURY DUTY!"  
THE RISE OF MILITANCY IN  
AMERICA  
WHY WARDEN OSBORNE OPPOSES  
SUFFRAGE

JUNE  
1915



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## A "WIDE-OPEN" RENO THANKS SUFFRAGISTS

ONLY two States have adopted woman suffrage since the year 1912.

One of these is Nevada.

The first election in which women voted would naturally reveal the purifying influence of women in politics as the women would be upon their mettle, knowing that the rest of the country would be viewing their actions with interest.

The following editorial from the Newport (R. I.) *News* shows what happened:

"WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN RENO.

"The Reno election, like that in Chicago last month, indicates that woman suffrage increases the number of votes cast but does not alter the character of the result. In Chicago there was a victory for the reform element; in Reno it was a victory for the sporting element. The details in Chicago prove that the women divided almost exactly as the men did, the difference between the percentages of men and women supporting Mayor Thompson being only about 1.5 per cent. A large majority of women supported the reform program, but so did a large majority of men. If the men alone had voted the result would have been the same.

"The despatches from Reno do not give the exact votes, but announce the defeat of the reform program by a very large majority. The Legislature recently restored the requirement of six months' residence instead of a year as a condition for divorce, and allowed horse-racing with gambling, and this has caused a large influx of people and promoted gaiety and prosperity, of a sort. The Reno people evidently liked it and by a vote of about three to one rejected a measure for reducing the number of liquor licenses from 80 to 40, and imposing strict regulations on cafés and cabarets. The Reno despatch says a large majority of the women, who voted for the first time, were on the 'liberal' side and helped to down the proposition to make the town 'puritanical.'

"The result is not especially significant, except that in connection with the vote in Chicago, and in some California elections, it indicates that the woman vote is not likely to do anything which the man vote does not do. Women voted in Colorado for more than 20 years before a prohibitory law was enacted, and during that time several States where men only vote had adopted prohibition. Even on social and moral questions, and much more on general political questions, men and women are subject to much the same influences and divide pretty nearly alike. There are all sorts of men, and there are also all sorts of women."

Possibly, however, the woman influence will be more evident in the actions of the Legislature, which now has the votes of women to consider and to fear unless their actions accord with the views of women.

The following editorial from the Jamestown (N. Y.) *Post* of May 3, 1915, is illuminating:

"RENO GLORIES IN ITS SHAME

"Reno, Nev., has long had an unsavory reputation as a center of the easy divorce industry and the only city in the United States where prize-fighting is permitted without regulation or hindrance. Of course, all the people of Nevada are in a way to be blamed for this degradation of its principal city because the Nevada Legislature passes the laws that make these bad conditions possible. The recent Legislature restored the law that permitted divorces after a residence of six months and passed another that legalized horse-racing with what is known as pari-mutual betting. With horse-racing, prize-fighting, eighty saloons and numerous dance-halls and cabaret shows, Reno seems now to be as 'wide open' in its shameless disregard of decency as any city of 11,000 people could well be."

Let us see if the opinions of these Eastern newspapers agree with the statement of a prominent resident of Reno, who writes to the *PROTEST* as follows:

"RENO, NEV., May 11, 1915.

"TO THE EDITOR:

"Probably you have observed the results of the first voting by women in Nevada, which occurred at the municipal election a week ago, May 4th. The following figures are of interest:

|                              |       |
|------------------------------|-------|
| Men registered.....          | 3,419 |
| Women registered.....        | 2,026 |
| Total registration.....      | 5,445 |
| Vote cast.....               | 4,234 |
| Estimated vote of women..... | 1,800 |

"Men already registered for the last general election were not required to re-register, so there were probably 600 names more on the register than were entitled to vote. The issues and the nature of the campaign were such as to stimulate the women to activity and a very acute quarrel between leaders of factions among them also added materially to the number of votes cast.

"The enclosed circular, the text of which was also used fully in the newspaper advertisements, will give you a clear understanding of the issue. (The issue between the saloons, graft and corruption and reform was clean cut and unmistakable.—*EN. PROTEST.*) The vote is told in figures.

"Two years ago the women without the vote appealed to the Legislature to terminate easy divorce. Their wishes were respected by a unanimous vote in the Assembly and by every Senator but one. This year, with the vote, they protested against a restoration of the old order and were turned down by a vote of 42 to 19 in the Assembly and by a majority of two in the Senate. The men who elected that Legislature and who voted at last Tuesday's election were the men who voted for equal suffrage last fall.

"Miss Anne Martin, the State leader of the suffrage campaign, attempted to control the women in the recent campaign and refused to recognize any other organization of women, but she lost. There is another organization, mostly Suffragettes, who repudiated her leadership, and the men's organization recognized them and worked with them. Miss Martin was repudiated by practically all her former co-workers except the Socialists.

"Please note the card of thanks from the organization that stood for all that was bad. The men cast their full proportionate share of the votes for the reform ticket."

When it is realized that the so-called "Business Men's Association" is commonly recognized as the liquor organization, the following clipping is pertinent:

"TO THE CITY OF RENO

"RENO, NEVADA, May 5, 1915.

"We wish to express our appreciation to the citizens of Reno, especially our fair-minded women, who supported the candidates endorsed by this association, and who opposed ordinance No. 153, at the polls yesterday.

"We deeply feel that your loyal support is an expression of confidence in our ability to regulate the liquor question in a manner which will be beneficial to all concerned.

"It is our intention to see that the law with reference to the sale of liquor to minors is strictly enforced; we will insist upon the revocation of any liquor license where the owner does not comply strictly to the law; we will oppose any attempt to increase the number of licenses now in effect, and will use every effort to decrease this number when it can be done in a fair way; we will outline a plan regulating the entertainment and dancing in cafés.

"These matters will be placed before the new council at their first meeting and they will be urged to take immediate action upon them. Respectfully,

"BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION."

—Advertisement

## The Woman's Protest

### AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by  
The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage  
37 West 39th Street, New York City.

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Vol. VII June, 1915 No. 2

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

**W**HAT is feminism? This simple question put to the first dozen persons you meet will get approximately that many answers. We have heard many professed feminists deliver long discourses regarding the definition of this movement without ever putting into plain language what feminism is. The best explanation we have noticed is the following, from one of our great metropolitan newspapers, in answer to a query:

"Feminism is the doctrine of the social, legal and political equality of the sexes. It aims to remove all restrictions, qualifications and privileges based on sex. Its chief present purpose towards this end is the attainment of 'votes for women.'"

No matter how far you go, your answers to this question will not wander to a great extent from this newspaper definition. As to when and where "feminism" began hardly two persons will agree; the word itself is of French derivation, and a recent book review claims that isolated use of it has been observed in documents over fifty years old. But it is only recently that feminism as a distinct doctrine, embracing three well-known and much-advertised demands—"the elimination of sex," "economic independence" and "votes for women"—has become an issue of much public concern. As to the first feminist, she is being "discovered" every little while to have made her debut at various periods since 400 B. C.; the first "anti-suffrage" condemnation of "feminist" doctrine being contained in Aristophanes' Parliament of Women, written about that time. An anti-suffrage speaker recently excited much mirth by a recital of this 2,400-year-old exposé of feminism, comparing it with the very "latest" utterances from suffrage organs and platforms. So, too, when we go back merely to the beginnings of the votes-for-women agitation in this country we find that there is practically nothing that the so-called "New Woman" feminist utters as original that is not paralleled or suggested by the oldest documents, written and edited by the "pioneers" of the "cause."

For instance, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, concedes: "The extreme feminists wish to do away with our entire marriage system, to eliminate the modern idea of the home, et cetera." Dr. Shaw personally does not indorse such views and took much

pains to explain that an article printed by a suffrage newspaper over her own picture, quoting her as advising us to "cut out the marriage ceremony," was faked. This, of course, was after the article produced a storm of criticism. Shortly afterward the National Suffrage Board met and formally "resolved" that it was in favor of marriage and motherhood.

So we must concede at the start that all Suffragists are not feminists; and also that all feminists are not of the "extreme" variety who wish to do away with "our entire marriage system" and "eliminate" the home. When, for instance, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins-Stetson-Gilman, the Socialist-Suffragist debater, who was chosen to represent the "cause" in a formal parallel argument in print with the President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, speaks or writes she must not be regarded as an "extreme."

Mrs. Gilman says: "The home of to-day is a permanent check on the growth of humanity." But we must not consider this as either an "extreme" or an original suffrage sentiment, for on page 19 of the official "History of Woman Suffrage," edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the "pioneers," we find a stronger statement: "The isolated household is responsible for a large share of woman's ignorance and degradation. A mind always in contact with children and servants . . . is necessarily dwarfed in its proportions."

Mrs. Gilman says: "The home is no more holy than the post-office," but nothing strikingly new or sensational is intended, of course, for the "History" again shows that in the earliest days of the agitation the poor old home's holiness was discounted by Suffragists. There we find that "many false ideals prevail as to woman's true position in the home. Womanhood is the great fact of her life. Wifehood and motherhood are but incidental relations."

Mrs. Gilman says: "Human beings believe their duty is far outside of merely being mothers; even a kitten could be a mother." But "even a cat can be a mother" was quoted by Susan B. Anthony over fifty years ago, and the "History" aids us once more with the following: "The love of offspring, common to all orders of women and all forms of animal life, cannot as a sentiment rank with conjugal love. . . . Neither does ordinary motherhood . . . compare in sentiment with the lofty ambition and conscientious devotion of the artist whose pure children of the brain in poetry, painting, music and science are ever beckoning her upward to an ideal world of beauty."

Nor must we regard it as "extreme" feminism when a leading Suffragist college president says: "Women may have spent half a lifetime in fitting themselves for a scholar's work and then may be asked to choose between it and marriage. No one can estimate the number of women who remain unmarried in revolt before such a horrible alternative."

No, indeed, these sentiments are not of the "extreme" feminist variety—the sort of feminism for which Margaret Sanger, editor of the *Woman Rebel*, was prosecuted by the postal authorities—they are merely plain, every-day, ordinary feminism such as you note among the statements of the leaders of the suffrage movement and its official "History." Far be it from us to say that any of these quotations are expressive of a "wish to do away with our entire marriage system," or that they desire to "eliminate" the ideal of home. When, for instance, the Pennsylvania Suffragists publicly hissed the mention of the word "home" on the floor of our State Senate they were not "extreme" feminists, nor did they desire to "eliminate" the sacred institution—they merely attempted to eliminate the Senator whose speech contained a reverential reference to "Home, Sweet Home"—which to Suffragists is "the isolated household." When their beloved "History," edited by one of their beloved pioneers, holds the home responsible for "a large share of woman's ignorance and degradation," how could these gentle ladies keep from hissing a mere male who dared to eulogize it?

## TO KEEP THE FIRE BURNING ON THE HEARTH

## "MELANCHOLIA AND THE SILENT WOMAN"

BY EDWINA STANTON BABCOCK

(Reprinted from the *Outlook*, December 18, 1909)

ONE of the famous engravings of Albrecht Dürer, which has, it is said, roused endless speculation, is that entitled "Melancholia." The meaning of it remains to this day an unsolved enigma.

"The picture," to quote Mr. Edwin Wiley, "reveals the figure of a robed woman with wide-spread wings, bearing keys and a purse at her girdle, her head wreathed with a garland of spleenwort. She is gazing, with the look betokening a wearied brain, across a dark and sullen sea. At her feet sleeps a great wolfhound, while near her an unhappy-looking Cupid makes marks upon a slate. Scattered about the woman are the tools of carpentry and other crafts, mingled with apparatus for necromancy and alchemy. A ladder, apparently rising from nowhere and leading to nowhere, stands near a great block of stone hewn into a strange shape. Around the base of the monumental structure, just behind the winged figure, hangs an hour-glass, a magic square, empty balances, and a silent bell. In the far background, lit by the light from a rainbow and a fearful comet, a dead and dreary waste of water laps the wharves of a deserted city. Across the strangely lighted sky flies a horrible bat-like creature, both demon and beast, bearing a scroll upon which is inscribed the legend, 'Melancholia.'"

To-day the people of this remarkable century are contemplating with undisguised interest the century figurehead—the resolute exponent of the "Woman Movement." It is a figurehead which, even to the coolest and most unbiased mind, must, in its greed for power, intensity of aggression, and display of the symbols of knowledge, typify the "Melancholia." In contrast to this figurehead there is slowly coming under general observation another type—a type which, for want of a better name, may be called the type of the "Silent Woman."

The Silent Woman is not necessarily "silent" except in her attitude—tentative, inarticulate, unconvinced, as opposed to the aggressive assurance of Melancholia. She is the type which for a great many years the world has accepted the most thankfully, cherished the most faithfully, obeyed the most implicitly. She is the woman who sits opposite us at the breakfast table; the one who smiles up at us with the child on her breast; the one whose handsome face and form we admire in the Sunday Supplement; the one who, laughing, with a rose in her hair, flings us a smile as she dances by; and that one who, passing in the fine raiment of the stenographer's wage, compels our awed comment.

The Silent Woman is not, however, any longer the "woman of to-day." In spite of herself she has become merely the woman of the present, living her life upon the solid foundations of the woman of the past. She is as yet womanhood, not woman. She is as yet incorporated into no "Equal Rights" sisterhood, as yet unidentified with any organization opposing that sisterhood. She is still standing by the fireside, under the roof-tree, looking about her at her tottering household gods, and asking herself and her friends questions—questions that have been made vital to her by the activities and enthusiasms of Melancholia.

With the comparatively sudden awakening of the rank and file of women to the presence of a new irritant has come the equally sudden realization of the approach of classification-stigma, which, courted or uncourted, is to many puzzling, unedifying. Society, it would seem, is to be divided into two classes—Melancholia and Silent Women—with very little promise of anything more dignified than subsequent subdivisions. In its insistence it may come to be disturbing; in its challenge it is inevitable. "What"—current comment has almost sloganized the phrase—"what are you going to do about it?"

The Silent Woman, moving about in her legitimate pleasures, her legitimate duties, finds herself continually encountered, interrogated, embarrassed by the Melancholia. The Silent Woman is not permitted to pursue her benighted way unargued; Melancholia sees to that. Bright in her wonderful chain-armor of "statistics," mighty in her panoply of "proofs," her impassioned arguments and these, she advances. Melancholia's quiver is full of arrows—some poisoned, some not—which she uses advisedly. More and more boldly, more and more, as she feels sure of herself, dominant and aggressive, comes this figurehead woman, looking into the Silent Woman's eyes and asking her troublesome question. "What"—sometimes her voice is twitting, sometimes worried, often flattering and tempting, more often, to the trained ear and the prophetic heart, terrible and fatalistic—"what are you going to do about it?"

It is a curious social study, a thing for more comment than has yet been made, more attention than has yet been given—the pathetic and helpless position of the Silent Woman. She finds herself in more than an academic sense "unprepared," she finds herself in every physical, intellectual, and psychic sense at bay.

At first she turns to men for help. True, this is only instinctive, and because in times past she has had the crude efforts of men, if not their brilliant success, at helping her. But the men, slightly obtuse, answer her with arguments that even to her untrained logic seem selfish, a little wide of the mark.

The Silent Woman, however, understands. Man is her husband, her brother, her friend. She knows him for what he is: loyal, simple, as devoted as he, being human, can be. But he is not expressing sentiments broad enough to be typical of his age. He has not realized things. He has been working so hard to give her and her children a home that the Woman Movement and its issues have come upon him unawares; he does not know it for what it is.

The Silent Woman has for years sat at a feast of books and magazines; a veritable barbecue of human intelligence, such as years ago was undreamed of. Like Melancholia, superficially, hastily, she has connoted the progress of the world, the increasing powers and opportunities of mankind. She is familiar with at least the scare-head outlines of the events of the last twenty years, with the growth of commercial and economic conditions, the need of reforms, the fluctuating systems, policies, and theories that keep mankind agog.

She is disposed to find in this wide-spread serum, this dropsical excitement of "general information," much of the explanation for the swelled tissue of feminine ambition. She knows that there is no impudence like the impudence of precocity, no restlessness like unto undisciplined mental restlessness. She concludes that the Woman Movement is not merely the personal abnormality of one or two brilliant Melancholias; not even the result of the very evident love of notoriety of the few; but a perfectly helpless, unconscious, all-dominating restlessness of the mass.

The Silent Woman takes up this restlessness, she searches it through and through, she analyzes it as only a woman can.

She recalls a certain mysterious poem in "Richard Feverel," where Meredith, in a subtle delineation of the "woman motive," portrays the endless wanderings of the woman who was always "seeking for something." She reminds herself of the ending of Goethe's "Faust"—"das ewig weibliche." She reviews the blind response of heroines and martyrs to the voice within, recurring with a thrill to an age when the New Hope, the Promise, was born of woman. The Silent Woman feels her heart beat quicker,

remembering many instances of women as sacred vessels, grails holding liberty, chalices holding hope. Perhaps, then, this new movement is inevitable. Shall a Silent Woman take it up as destiny, as calling? Is Melancholia the "voice of one crying in the wilderness"?

After a while the Silent Woman does something desperate. She invites one of the Melancholias to sit by her fireside and talk it over with her.

"That is right," she is encouraged. "I see you are becoming convinced at last. Just think what a new world is opening to you! In a few years you will be voting for the measures you want put through, just like a man. You will meet all men on their own ground. You will restrict undue taxation of your own property, you will be able to spend your own money, you can have a voice in public matters, you can keep out of politics every corrupt element, you can help the 'Cause of Women.'"

The Silent Woman raises her eyebrows. She is as yet a little vague about that "Cause."

"That would be very nice," she agrees politely. "But—after that? Should I be likely to end there? Shouldn't I want something else to do, after"—the Silent Woman permits herself a smile—"after I had achieved all these things?"

"Then you can go regularly into politics," replies the enthusiastic Melancholia. "Think of the distinction, the power such a life will give you! Think of the purity of politics, if we were to have a woman President, women judges, women diplomats and Senators!"

The Silent Woman regards her countertype thoughtfully.

"Melancholia," she says at last, "Melancholia, look here. I'm not so sure about all that, do you know? I know I couldn't be a judge. When I go to the theater, and the reckless lover runs away with the married heroine, I never sympathize with the worthy but unattractive husband. Pooh! I sympathize with those two people who are breaking laws! I always hope they'll get away to their lovely villa in Italy. When I hear of a young fellow going to be hung for a foul crime, I lie awake all night thinking—not of his crime—but of his young hopeless eyes staring into the dark of his prison cell; his mother, pale, agonized, starting up at the tolling of the dawn of his last day. It is the best thing in me, I do believe, the thing that makes me patient when the children are impossible or my husband is—trying; but, I ask you, is that a good quality for a judge? As for purifying politics—my Uncle Ben is in politics, and he is so good to me that even if I knew he was a villain and a cut-throat I'd vote for his measures."

"All those things are simply because you've been educated on an emotional basis," returns Melancholia briskly. "Read up a little—some biology, history, ethics. Some of the Socialistic propaganda helps. Read what the women of to-day intend for the women of to-morrow. Understand what women have been and what they are going to be—Oh, it's glorious!"

But the Silent Woman cannot see it in that way. She wonders if these Melancholias realize all that must be sacrificed—things that, by mighty majestic laws which no man or woman ever made, were given women to keep and guard. She previzualizes a dead, cold body, a mechanical mentality, with the woman's nature plucked out of it, yet bearing an outward likeness to woman. She is reminded of a ladder "rising from nowhere and leading nowhere."

"I want to feel and love—yes, even to hate," she declares stoutly.

"Love away, but not like a selfish, untutored, atavistic savage," retorts her mentor.

"Well, but"—the Silent Woman feels it necessary to be apologetic—"I mean that I prefer putting all my energies into the solution of things that are still problems with me: the education and rearing of my children, the perpetuation of ideal family relations, the right interpretation of married life—all those things so impossible to perfect, so hard to consummate, but, oh, so bitter to lose! Have women made such brilliant successes of these

duties that they are now ready to abandon them? I, for one, am not ready to give them up."

For answer the other searches her with scientific eyes. "My dear, undeveloped woman!" comes her cool answer. "Give them up? Who wants you to? Why, this very paper I want you to sign is one that will influence the welfare of family life."

It is a hard fight between these two. The more so because the Silent Woman is fighting sincerely, desperately, untrainedly, with a dumb, fateful sense of grave issues at stake; and Melancholia, in spite of technical training, is unconsciously, almost innocently, fighting theatrically with the tricks of the trade, to carry "points" which are not always truths, and to win applause from an indiscriminate gallery. The Silent Woman is aware of this weakness of sex; she puts her finger on it.

"If I once got going," she confesses, "I'd never be satisfied with reforms; neither would you, Melancholia. We'd become obsessed with our own importance. We'd be sure, in some exaltation of motive, to lose sight of the really important and practical issue. Oh, a few have achieved, I know. They were abnormal, individual; made so by inherited force, and trained by great perceptions to understand the use of power. They were strong enough to create their own current, and they swam smoothly enough in it. Each one of them was the prophetess of her time, and did her work well; but—" the Silent Woman hesitates.

"Well?" Melancholia is superbly patient with the weak-minded. "Well, what of it? We are speaking, not of the present, but of the future. There are now not one but many prophetesses. We Melancholias are possessed of a depth and dream of desire that unifies us. We are now, newly exploited by journals and magazines, a political force. May we not use our finer qualities here? Our unutterable tenderness for the weak—is it not manifested in our work for women and children? Our courage, our purity, our swift intelligence—are they not shown in our quiet reception of ridicule and insult? Are you willing to shut out such traits from the political life? Cannot you see how we shall constitute a new force, which, released by the franchise from its stagnation, will make us politically and economically—as we have been socially—the clear stream that purifies the Augean stable?"

The Silent Woman looks sympathetically at her.

"It is not your motive that alarms me," she explains. "Heaven knows the magnificence of a woman's motive. The world knows the futility of it! I protest, not at your desire to improve, but at the way you take to do it—your ardent assumption of the unanalyzed burden. It is as if my little girl were to clean house in my absence, and succeeded in upsetting everything and never getting it to rights again. Temperamentally, just how will suffrage affect you? I presume you admit the fundamental qualities that control and influence sex. I presume you do not ignore primal instincts and primal passions. Perhaps you hope in time to dislodge these things from their home in the human frame. (I often wonder if the Melancholias discount these influences, in the belief that they would some day cease to exist. I often wonder just how far they carry the theory of their non-existence.) But as long as they *do* exist—picture to yourself the confusion, the utter confusion!"

"You mean?" Melancholia is interested.

"Think of us two, for instance, controlling rival newspapers. Should we ever be disciplined enough to maintain even superficial dignity? Think of our passions let loose, our tongues uncurbed! The expression 'lady' has for years stood between us and unthinkable smallness. We have never had (openly) to do with rancor, slander, blackmail; with the snatching, challenge, backbiting, and sneering that form the public man's daily meat. You and I know men whose hearts have been broken by it, but who have met it with calmness and firmness. Could we do so?"

"I think we could improve all that," argues Melancholia; "we'd do away with it. Women wouldn't be so terrible and violent, *women* would be always aiming for the highest."

The Silent Woman smiles. "You can't be simple enough to believe that we women are really, by nature, better than men? We've been shielded from our own worst, held back by merciful conventions and unwritten laws, from all that is low and mean and violent in ourselves, as well as from all that is black and craven and vile in the world. But, drunk with power, what would shield us from each other, if indeed, from the storm and stress, our very physical natures did not collapse?"

Melancholia's smile is tolerant and mysterious. "We don't need to worry about that, just yet, do we?" she returns, good-naturedly. "Anyway, I must be going; but, first, you dear, clever, obstinate, adorable thing, do sign this paper."

The Silent Woman reads the paper, slowly, carefully. Then she looks up.

"If I support this paper," she says, "it is equivalent to saying that I do not believe in the home life as woman's chief vocation—which I emphatically do believe."

"But how can you, Honey?" she is delicately admonished. "No woman of intellect does. Look at the home life: it is not meeting with the requirements of the age; it is too narrow. Club life is the only thing now for women who know. You see signs of that feeling everywhere; I tell you this is the New Age!"

"That doesn't convince me at all," replies the other. "The plague-spot everywhere doesn't convince me of anything but an infection which it is my duty to help stamp out. I'm not going to call it the 'Age of Plagues' and help it along. *If the influence of the home is failing, it is because energies that should have been conserved to its development and support have been dissipated elsewhere.* But even if all you say is true, even if this movement isn't simply the result of mental unbalance and exaggerated ego, I don't want to lose my head over it; I want to wait a little, and see if the pendulum won't swing the other way."

Melancholia is scornful. "Truth remains fixed. We women are for the first time alive, awake! We see our responsibilities. We are doing our duty. We lose ourselves, we sink our preferences and individualities in our convictions."

But she is stoutly contradicted by the woman at the fireside.

"That is your fetish, your theory, your war-cry; but it is practically untrue. Your propaganda has taken, is taking, women out of their seclusion; their absorption in great duties has made them utterly discontented with their vocations, domestic and natural; has developed their individual ambitions so that they marry for position; has distorted their ideas as to what constitutes human happiness and civic obligation; has overemphasized their need for careers. All your literature fosters that intense individualism. Your women's clubs, while they affect generous, disinterested, democratic intercourse, are in reality developing an ultra-fastidious and jealous exclusiveness; these same clubs are doing away with the ideal of the home, the ideal of the best instincts in men, the—" The Silent Woman breaks off. She stares into the fire. What silent burnt-offerings keep a hearth-flame going few Silent Women care to tell; they show like stigmata in soul, hands, and feet the sufferings, the fastings, the vigils, that keep that spark alight. The ideal of the home was not made without tears, cannot be maintained without tears. But the thing, by all the chronicles of the ages, is worth fighting for. The Silent Women will fight for it.

Melancholia goes on arguing, but the other sits there, shaking her head. She feels tongue-tied, stupid, of a past age, but she is unconvinced. She knows what must be some of the results following the entrance of enfranchised women into club and public life; what frightful natural penalties must be paid for the assumption of intense mental responsibilities. The children, the home, the State, the man, must suffer; it is hypocrisy and evasion to pretend the contrary.

Also there is another thing that troubles the Silent Woman. Like most unprejudiced people, she rather dislikes the idea of the failure of men as a sex. Yet she knows that, setting aside all other considerations, the crowding of another sex into the

all too narrow highways of wage-earning has these results to follow:

- The lowering of men's wages.
- The deflation of men's ambitions.
- The disillusionment of men.
- The forsaking of the responsibilities of men.

And, as the nerveless result of these things, the final pushing out of men from the social scheme.

"Not if men are as strong as they think they are," argues Melancholia.

"I have heard it said," returns the Silent Woman gently, "that a man is as strong as some woman makes him believe he is. As for the attitude of the 'independent' woman—oh, it makes me laugh—*laugh*, Melancholia, to see the independent woman rampaging around, paying for her club privileges, her theater tickets, her clothes, her lecture tours, out of the money some poor wretch of a man has made! Men, the 'oppressors—'

There is a moment's silence. Melancholia chafes under it. She is following will-o'-the-wisps these days, and has become high-strung and nervous with the zigzag chase. The Silent Woman stares into the fire. She foresees the destruction of the things she and her foremothers have worked hard to preserve. "Wild boars" have "broken into her vineyard." Her garden of life, through which love and hope walked, braving nettles, striving to keep it clear of weeds, nobly caring for its simples and herbs, is to be destroyed. She will, however, make one last defense.

"Suppose, as you say"—she speaks with lowered voice—"suppose a New Age has begun. Suppose mysterious things we do not see, are not aware of, are forcing us by the sin of our own egotism to oblivion. Are you for complete negation? This demand for 'freedom,' is it not a perversion, an abnormal manifestation, like the forcing out on some ancient fruit tree, just before it dies, of a rosy spectacle of myriad ardent blossoms? Does it never seem to you that this feverish insistence of women upon themselves as a type is unnatural? Doesn't it mean a failure of fruition? Don't you suppose that those old countries that wanted plenty of men to fight kept the women mentally and socially subjected for good reasons? Don't you suppose the Church understands a few things?"

Melancholia fidgets; she looks at her watch; she has come to that period in her development when she begins to wonder if, after all, a Silent Woman is really worth a Melancholia's valuable time.

"Suppose," pursues the other, working it out for herself—"suppose, with women excelling, men should utterly die out. It could happen, couldn't it? Botany, evolution, give some very curious examples. We know how strong women are in some ways. I wonder if that strength was given them by nature to assist men for human continuance? Suppose, then, Melancholia, that, after hundreds and hundreds of years, we ourselves should grow like men, the men grow to be a kind of drones, fewer and fewer children came. Oh, Melancholia, it sounds trite, I know; out of our vanity we have come to scoff at old teachings, but the sum of life proves that the Christian warning holds actual practical truth."

"The—er—Christian warning?" Melancholia's eyebrows are raised inquiringly.

"The meek shall inherit the earth," returns the Silent Woman, soberly. "The old terrible, personal ego has been the destructive element in all social fabrics; in women it may destroy the physical fabric. Too much forcing will destroy us. Our functions will depart, our right place in the great plan of Nature will be lost—as plants wither, as streams dry up, as a people decay, shall we not so perish off the face of the earth?"

Melancholia rises, her face slightly pale. "Silent Woman," she says, commiseratingly, "I think you're going crazy from having no career and talking with that narrow husband of yours. Now, you put on your hat and come along to the club with me; I'm going to give a talk on the congestion problem."

The Silent Woman goes.

When she comes home, her husband smiles interrogatively at her. "Well?" he questions.

The Silent Woman shakes her head.

"Not yet," she says. "I can't be 'anti,' because the Melancholies are—some of them—the best, the cleverest, the bravest, and sometimes the kindest women I know. But I can't be 'pro' either, because I am a woman, and I know my limitations, and I know these very limitations are the result of—of—other qualities, and when I cease to have those other qualities—God help me."

Her husband hands her his cup to be refilled. "God," he repeats thoughtfully, under his breath, "God—I wonder?" . . .

The Silent Woman gives him the cup. "I understand," she says, slowly. "I know what you mean—I wonder, too!"

They sit and talk far into the night, as men and women who believe in God behind nature always talk; not, Heaven be thanked, as equals, but as two beings endowed with differing gifts that each holds precious, sacred, to the other's ministry. When they grow silent, it is for the hundredth time with that inestimable sense of the Mutual not born of the ballot!

The Silent Woman's husband soon falls asleep. To-morrow, with him, comes too soon, and he must work for the things that have kept him, as yet, unafraid to go to sleep.

But the Silent Woman cannot sleep, not yet. She turns from her sleeping children. She goes to her window and looks out.

It is midnight. Dark. The world seems very much alone. Above, in the black, uncharted sky, sail the wandering planets. There hangs the age-old net of Destiny, kinked with tangled stars, buoyed with dead and alive worlds that dot it where it floats, full of its catch of human souls, on the shoreless sea.

The Silent Woman pictures to herself "a dead and dreary waste of water, lapping the wharves of a deserted city;" she sees the figure of a "woman with wide-spread wings," sitting surrounded with dead symbols of temporal power; a mind moping among its idle play-things—wrecked, desolate, lost!

Over against that picture, opposed to its shuddering possibility, the Silent Woman sees another, the picture of the Dream of Continuance. She sees the roof-tree and the fireside of the home; the faces of young children, the faith and dignity of men and women and state, promoted by the old calm, holy things of which she is regent, martyr, and high priestess. She sees the silent suffering of women, that men may be stronger; the courage and patience of men, that women may be eased; the twin-soul that flies on ahead while the body bends to the yoke!

The Silent Woman kneels. She prays to that mystical Without which flows from the divine through the human to the Eternal; that Wordless that must be for evermore the Word.

What if the phantom of Melancholia should have this lasting effect only—that the Silent Women all over the world fling passionate arms around the old gods, calling on men and ages to help them keep the fire burning on the hearth?

## THE SUFFRAGE DEFINITION OF "FREEDOM"

BY GEORGE R. CONROY

(This article appeared in the *Boston Evening Record* of May 28th in reply to an article by Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, President of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, in the *Record* of May 18th.—ED. PROTEST.)

IT would greatly simplify the discussion of the question of "morals and woman suffrage" if Suffragists would not persist in the unjustifiable assumption that in attacking woman suffrage Anti-Suffragists are attacking women. This assumption runs all through Miss Alice Stone Blackwell's article in a recent issue of *The Record* and forms the basis of her charge that I have uttered "slandering," "infamous" and "malignant" falsehoods. Let me say now, as emphatically as I can, that it is not and never has been my purpose to cast reflection upon the morals of any woman, and I do not think there is ground for a reasonable inference to the contrary in my letter of May 11th.

The anti-suffrage contention is that the National Woman Suffrage Association, consciously or unconsciously, has put the seal of its approval upon doctrines which are contrary to the Christian code of morality. We do not say that the feminist and Socialist leaders of the suffrage movement are immoral women. So far as our argument is concerned, they may be paragons of personal purity. We prefer to believe that they are. And so when we hear them prating about greater "freedom" for women and "economic independence" and "easy divorce"; when we hear them advocating a convenient materialistic philosophy as a substitute for the hard conditions of the Ten Commandments, we feel certain that they fail utterly to realize the revolutionary character of their propaganda and the awful social darkness which would follow its adoption; that they are simply blind leaders leading blind followers they know not whither.

Miss Blackwell denies that the National Woman Suffrage Association publishes or circulates literature which teaches an immoral doctrine, defines feminism as simply "equal rights for women," and characterizes my description of "The Case for

Woman Suffrage" and "What Women Want" as a "malignant misrepresentation." I trust Miss Blackwell will accept the voice of Christianity as a pretty safe moral criterion. Unless she does, I cannot argue with her; for the moment we get away from the moral law of the Christian religion, we get away from any generally accepted standard of morality, and morality becomes a mere matter of individual opinion.

"The Case for Woman Suffrage" is a bibliography of suffrage-feminist-socialist literature, in which they have a system of "stars of praise" to indicate the importance to be attached from the Suffragist standpoint to the books, pamphlets and magazine articles to which reference is made. The highest number of stars is seven, and this number is given to Charlotte Perkins Gilman for a suffrage plea, in which she says: "A house does not need a wife any more than it does a husband. Are we never to have a man-wife? A really suitable and profitable companion for a man instead of the bond-slave of a house?"

Dora Marsden's "Bondwomen," a pamphlet reprinted from the "Freewoman," gets three stars of praise. In this argument for suffrage Miss Marsden says: "The free woman's concern is to see to it that she shall be in a position to bear children if she wants them without soliciting maintenance from any man, whoever he may be." In other words, "economic independence."

Max Eastman, the Socialist editor of *The Masses* and ex-secretary of the New York Men's League for Woman Suffrage, gets six stars of praise. Eastman's idea of morality is summed up in this statement made by him at a suffrage-feminist meeting: "Women should be made free from all the limitations of law, dogma and custom." And the issue of *The Masses* containing that speech was handed out at a suffrage organization headquarters in New York to persons who asked for "the strongest argument for woman suffrage."

Mary Ware Dennett, who said in a suffrage speech: "It is unwholesome for any woman to be supported by any man," gets

four stars of praise in "The Case." Mrs. Dennett was formerly secretary of the Massachusetts Suffrage Association, and for a period up 'till last year corresponding secretary of the National Woman Suffrage Association. She is now one of the directors of the recently organized "Birth Control League," the official organ of which is Max Eastman's *Masses*, and the purpose of which, as stated in *The Masses* for May, 1915, is the repeal or amendment of the law prohibiting the circulation of information in regard to the limitation of families. Another director of this race-suicide organization is Jessie Ashley, former treasurer of the National Woman Suffrage Association and author of an indecent article in *The Progressive Woman* for April, 1913, entitled "Who Are the White Slaves?" Needless to say, the "white slaves," from Miss Ashley's viewpoint, are virtuous married women.

The Birth Control League, by the way, was formed as a result of the arrest of Margaret Sanger for circulating indecent literature among young girls in New York, and is now engaged, through the medium of *The Masses*, in raising a fund for her defense.

Now, all this and more, much more, of the same kind and worse, is feminism—not the kind of feminism of which Miss Blackwell speaks, but real feminism, the feminism which lies beneath the euphonious phrases "economic independence" and "perfect freedom" for women; the feminism preached by speakers and writers whose speeches and writings are used by the National Woman Suffrage Association in its campaign for votes for women.

But let us have some expert definitions of feminism. Miss Edna Kenton, a noted feminist, said in the *Century Magazine* for November, 1913, that the suffrage movement was "sex war," and that woman had been set aside from life "no less in the Christian home than in the harem." Mrs. Winnifred Harper Cooley, daughter of Ida Husted Harper, said in *Harper's Weekly* for November 27, 1913: "The younger generation of franchise-seekers consider the vote the merest tool, a means to an end—that end being a complete social revolution." She says also that the "single standard of morality" which the "younger radicals" in the suffrage movement demand "is not to be interpreted arbitrarily as meaning either a strictly Puritanical standard or an objectionably loose standard." Mrs. Havelock Ellis, another prominent feminist-Suffragist, says in the *Forum* for April, 1913: "Any woman who is kept by a man, whether in marriage or not, is either a parasite or a prostitute."

All these women are suffrage leaders and their utterances are intended as arguments for votes for women.

As for Mrs. Forbes Robertson Hale's book, "What Women Want," it sets up a system of morality entirely out of harmony with the Christian standard, and, judging women by that standard, either frankly indorses or deals in the most tolerant way with the radical doctrines of the most radical feminists. On page 30 Mrs. Hale says Mary Wolstonecraft was the original feminist, and praises her as having "attacked the double standard and condemned the 'live by pleasing' system which makes parasites of a large class of women." Light is thrown on Mary Wolstonecraft's method of "attacking the double standard" when we remember that she entered into a trial marriage, and having found it tiresome or disagreeable, entered into another on the same terms.

Mrs. Hale says on page 217 that Ellen Key is a moralist, and on page 220 she says that "Ellen Key renders a real service to feminism" and that "she advocates what is known as 'the right to motherhood,' which is a synonym for the right to unmarried motherhood." On page 268 Mrs. Hale shows that feminists believe in easy divorce, and on page 270 she says: "They realize that there are visionaries among us who so desire perfection in love as never to be satisfied, and that those who fail to obey man's law are not always immoral, but are sometimes striving, however confusedly, to find God's. . . . They hold George Eliot moral, and the woman who sells love, in or out of marriage, deeply immoral."

The "man's law" to which Mrs. Hale refers is, of course, the law of Moses.

Miss Blackwell says I have gone too far in calling her a Socialist. Miss Blackwell is my authority for that statement. In the *Boston Post* on December 16, 1911, I find an interview with Miss Blackwell, headed, "Socialism Gains Noted Suffragist," in which Miss Blackwell is made to say: "I became converted to Socialism through reading Socialist newspapers."

Is there nothing destructive of Christian morals in the suffrage propaganda? What, then, are we to make of Maria Weston Chapman's reply to criticism of clergymen, as found on page 82, Vol. 1, "History of Woman Suffrage," edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton:

"This doctrine of Jesus, as preached by Paul, If embraced in the spirit, will ruin us all?"

## THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE DEFINITION OF "DUTY"

THE following brief synopsis of an address by Miss Alice Hill Chittenden before the New York Minister's Conference is reprinted from the *Watchman-Examiner*:

"The significant fact of the woman suffrage movement is in the wide and strong opposition among women themselves against giving women the right to vote. Among these 'antis,' so-called, you will find women who are not 'dull,' 'dormant' or 'timid,' but women who look life fairly and squarely in the face, and who are giving their time and strength in varied activities of civic and church life. These are unlike those women who say 'We have no time to give but to the work of the suffrage cause.'"

Voting is only a small part of the problem involved. I do not know a man who could do woman's work as well as the woman. Laws do not make people better—but home influence does. There is learned the law of obedience and obedience of

law. Withholding the vote from women is not contrary to democracy. All classes are now represented in the electorate. Woman, through training and influence, contributes to democracy, for democracy is a spirit, essentially, without which there can be no democracy. Social laws are brought about by public opinion—and that power is in the hands of women to-day. Women voting will mean a lower tone spiritually among women. The spiritual needs quiet. Woman entering into the wide field in competition with men will lose the time for quiet, and hence her spiritual power. Woman will fail in her duty to the State under such a condition. The Woman Suffragist says there is a better and sweeter word than "home, mother and heaven," that that word is "liberty." Above liberty we write duty, above equality service, and above a creed of rights a creed of duties. Woman's energies need to be conserved. Diffusion here means loss and deterioration. Remember we are working not for ourselves but for the race that is to come.

## "THE END OF SUFFRAGE A SOCIAL REVOLUTION"

(From the N. Y. Times, May 19)

To the Editor:

I LISTENED on Monday to the addresses of two well-known suffrage speakers before a body of ministers. Those addresses were fine specimens of special pleading, in which the real question was begged. For instance, one of the speakers said practically this: "If you believe in progress, if you believe in co-operation, if you believe in democracy, if you believe in civic and social righteousness, then you must logically believe in Woman Suffrage." Both these speakers spent much time in giving the audience their ideas concerning the beliefs of the Anti-Suffragists, and they said this: "We Suffragists hold that such a body as this has no right to invite and listen to anti-suffrage speakers. They want no change, but to have things left just as they are. It is we who desire change and, therefore, demand the opportunity to tell you about our requests."

Now, it happens because Anti-Suffragists deny absolutely that Woman Suffrage is progressive, that it is co-operative, that it is democratic, or that it makes for civic and social righteousness, that they rightfully demand a full and fair hearing; and it is unpatriotic in any body of American men to deny, or to fail to seek knowledge of their principles and the facts upon which those principles are based.

Progress is movement forward, and civilized progress rests upon a belief in religion, in the home founded upon love expressed in the sacredness of the marriage tie, and in the State built upon such individual homes and defended by the only force that the Creator has made capable of such defense—the men reared in such homes.

The time was when this was the condition in these United States, and it made America the joy of the earth; but that time is over, and Anti-Suffragists are compelled to appeal, not for things in their present condition, but for such radical change as shall make it possible for this country to resume its glorious career of steady and safe progress under the inspiration and activity of its women and the ready and joyful safeguarding of its men.

The change which we deplore has been brought about by the woman-suffrage principles and movement. It is nearly one hundred years since a woman, called in "The History of Woman Suffrage," prepared by Mrs. Stanton and her helpers, "The Pioneer Woman in the Cause of Woman Suffrage"—Frances Wright—lectured in this country, advocating Woman Suffrage. Her home was in New York, and here she established and edited a newspaper, *The Free Inquirer*, whose inquiries were very free indeed, for, among other things, she advocated absolute free love. Her principles, as set forth, were: Religion is the greatest bar to progress; marriage is the next, and an organized republic is the third and last. The halls in all the great cities, as well as those of New York, were closed to her, because of the official recognition of the injurious character of her teaching, and men formed "The Christian Party," to work and vote against its influence. But communism had begun to find a foothold among us, and irreligion, or non-religion was openly advocated as the social commonwealth idea began to take root and grew, finally, into settlement form, among others. Every one of the principles set forth by Frances Wright is to be found in the writings of the pioneer Suffragists, and Mrs. Stanton's first appeal to the Legislature was for freer divorce. She held that marriage should be no more permanent than the contract with one's minister, doctor or grocer. As to the official suffrage conception of religion, let the community study the "Woman's Bible" issued by many of their leaders, with three bearing the title "Rev."

As to the home, Mrs. Stanton said: "The isolated home is responsible for a large share of woman's ignorance and degradation." Mrs. Blatch said: "I rejoice in every workingman's co-operative dwelling as a blow aimed at the individual home." State motherhood advocacy is but one of Anna Shaw's evidences of sympathy with feminism, which is the fruitage of suffrage.

The undemocratic character of the woman-suffrage movement is easily demonstrable. It was everywhere introduced by the forces that gave to countries and States radical Socialistic measures—the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, and which found in Mormonism its friend and first advocate in this country. The reason that it cannot exist in a sound republic (aside from the underlying social one) is that the vote is government's method of making good the things that law decrees. Otherwise it is waste paper whenever power chooses to make it so. Here are three illustrations: The women politicians of Colorado applied to the general government to see to it that they receive the portion of Federal patronage due to them in return for their votes, which is now withheld from them by the men. Having said, "Give us the vote and we will give ourselves all else," they now say: "Please give us the expected results of our self-government." In what a humiliating position the whole thing places women! A second demonstration is seen in the fact that an English clergyman is not eligible to a seat in the House of Commons. Not because he is deemed inferior to men who sit there, nor because he is classed with criminals and idiots; but England is working toward a true democratic form of government, and clergymen are not counted in with the defensive force. Thirdly, if this great war has demonstrated anything it is the fact that the power to rule must lie with those who can enforce it. None of the nations wanted war, but they did want either the aggression or the repression that they counted vital, and to secure which there was no way but by fighting. If the Socialist-Suffragists, who are foolishly clamoring for a peace that all are powerless to give, would repudiate their sentiments that have encouraged the evil spirits in human nature, and rebuild the home and the State, and cherish a love of God, then peace would come without the asking. As it is, suffrage is bringing this land to the verge of civil war.

That movement can be shown to be the opposite of everything that makes for civic and social righteousness. Hear some of the utterances of its leaders. Inez Milholland Boissevain said: "Wedding rings are a relic of barbarism. It will certainly not be long before the steady influx to the voting ranks of these millions of younger women whose impressions are being formed in the more alert, stirring air of to-day will bring the real issues more sharply before us, and it is to be assumed that the institutions most likely to be changed are the institutions in which the sex, as a sex, is most peculiarly and vitally interested, namely, the home and marriage itself." Winifred Cooley says: "The younger women consider the vote the merest tool, a means to an end, that end being a complete social evolution." Miss Fola La Follette says: "Whether a woman is married or single, has children or not, is her business and nobody else's." Mrs. Florence Wise, Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League of New York, said: "I believe only in voluntary motherhood. Many unmarried women want children, and there ought to be an opportunity for the expression of their innate mother love." At a meeting which I addressed Dr. Mary Halton said, in comment: "Thank God if Woman Suffrage frees us from marriage. You all know what 'kept women' are." The suffrage name for the woman in the normal home supported by the husband is "parasite."

Let the ministerial conferences that are heedlessly passing

resolutions favoring Woman Suffrage recall their actions until they know correctly the inward character of the movement. Many good women also are greatly deceived. There are endless phases to that movement, but the one that really leads and

will triumph is the one that expresses the mind in which it had its birth.

HELEN KENDRICK JOHNSON.

New York, May 18, 1915.

## ENLIGHTENMENT FOR INQUIRING SUFFRAGISTS

(Because of many requests from anti-suffrage speakers, we reprint the following from the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* of April 11, 1915.—Editor PROTEST.)

**T**HE anti-suffrage organization in Boston makes the following statement:

*The Woman's Journal* publishes a list of 10 "common-sense questions," which it is claimed no opponent of suffrage has been able to answer. The questions and replies follow:

Question 1—If equal suffrage is a bad thing, why has it spread from the State that first adopted it to 10 neighboring States, all adjoining one another?

Answer—For the same reason that free silver, populism and Mormonism have spread through many of these same States. Why did slavery spread from State to State until many people said it was bound to come all over the Union? Neighbors copy each other's bad ways as well as their good ones. But South Dakota has lived next to woman suffrage Wyoming since 1869, and nevertheless defeated suffrage by popular vote both in 1910 and 1914. Nebraska adjoins both Wyoming and Colorado, the two States which have had suffrage longest, and Nebraska defeated woman suffrage by popular vote in 1914. Missouri borders on woman suffrage Kansas and has recently voted against it by 140,000 majority. These States, after seeing at close range how it works, have evidently decided that it is a bad thing.

Question 2—If the majority of the people anywhere are dissatisfied with it, why is there no move to repeal it?

Answer—Suffrage was repealed in New Jersey owing to flagrant cheating by women at the polls. It has not yet been repealed in the Western States because the women who do not want to vote are too indifferent even to protest, and simply stay away from the polls; and because woman suffrage creates an appalling indifference to political evils. If the Colorado electorate could view without serious protest the inactivity of the State government month after month regarding the Colorado strike, it is not surprising that it puts up with the more insidious evils of woman suffrage. To recall woman suffrage you would have to bring to the polls the women opposed, the great majority of whom do not vote at all. The votes of those in favor would be cast. Under these circumstances an outrageous manifestation of the evils of suffrage would have to arise before it could be withdrawn, as in the New Jersey case.

Question 3—If it leads mothers to neglect their children, why is the lowest infant death rate in the world found in New Zealand?

Answer—The death rate is low in New Zealand because the climate is highly favorable, because the population is largely rural, the cities new, and because of the splendid system of district nursing inaugurated by a mere man, Dr. Trueby King, as a private enterprise. To determine whether legislation is benefiting the public health we must ask, not whether the death rate is naturally low to begin with, but whether it is being lowered. In New Zealand the infant death rate dropped faster before women had the vote than thereafter. Furthermore, New Zealand did not pass the most important legislation bearing on this matter, the notification-of-births act, until 14 years after it had woman suffrage; and that act was modeled upon one passed in male suffrage England. In this country, no woman suffrage city can show so large a lowering of the infant mortality rate as the male suffrage cities of New York and Boston.

Question 4—If it increases divorce, why did Colorado grant 935 divorces the year before women were given the ballot and only 597 the year after?

Answer—If it does not increase divorce, why should Colorado have 409 divorces to every 100,000 of married population, while Nebraska, an adjoining male suffrage State, has only 226? Why should the divorce rate per 100,000 of married population in Washington be 513, in Colorado 409, in Idaho 347, in Oregon 368, in Wyoming 361, while in Missouri, where suffrage was recently overwhelmingly defeated, it is only 281, in South Dakota only 270, and North Dakota 268?

Question 5—If it is demoralizing, why did only 62 out of 624 ministers and editors in the suffrage States replying to Julia Ward Howe's letter of inquiry give an unfavorable opinion?

Answer—There were in 1910, when Mrs. Howe's inquiry was made, about 700 editors in the suffrage States and 771 clergymen in the five denominations—Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational and Episcopalian—to whom her letter was sent. Out of these 1,441, only 35 per cent. were willing to be recorded as favoring suffrage; 65 per cent. were either opposed or too indifferent to reply. Under these circumstances why should it be assumed that a majority favored woman suffrage? It is significant that Mrs. Howe did not desire the opinion of the Roman Catholic clergy.

Question 6—If the majority of women are opposed, why have only about 1 per cent. of the women in the United States joined the widely-advertised national association opposed to woman suffrage, according to that association's own figures?

Answer—We maintain that the vast majority are either opposed to woman suffrage or totally indifferent to the question. The national suffrage association claims a membership of about 500,000. There are in the United States 24,500,000 women 21 years and over. The fact that after half a century of agitation only 2 per cent. of the women of the country are sufficiently interested in suffrage to join this association makes the proposal to oblige them to take an interest in all other political questions preposterous.

Question 7—If the majority of women are opposed in Massachusetts, where an active anti-suffrage association has been gathering signatures of women against suffrage ever since 1895, why has it succeeded in 20 years in accumulating the names of only about 3 per cent. of the women of the State?

Answer—The assumption is inaccurate in two respects, the facts being that (1) the great majority are opposed or indifferent, and (2) the 30,000 women are present active members. At the suffrage hearing at the State house in January, 1915, the Suffragists stated that their members numbered 55,000. If we may assume from their own wording of the question that the Suffragists are counting in their membership all those whose names they have accumulated, we arrive at this interesting contrast. The Massachusetts anti-suffrage association, formed in 1895, now has 30,000 members, all women over 21. The Massachusetts woman suffrage association, formed in 1870, has accumulated in 45 years the names of less than twice as many men, women and minors as there are adult women in the anti-suffrage association.

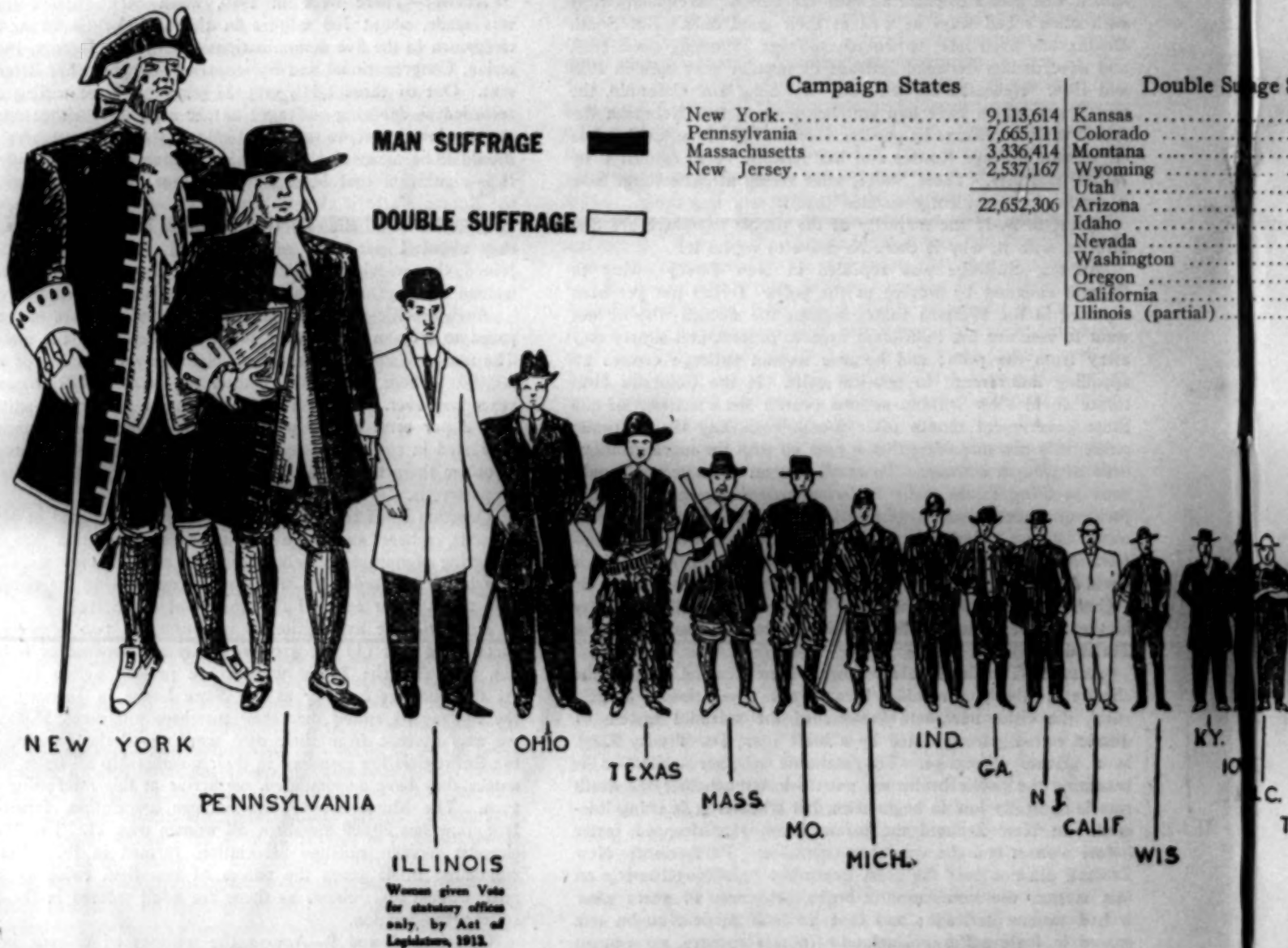
Questions 8 and 9—Among the millions of citizens in the enfranchised States, why have the opponents of equal suffrage

(Continued on page 14)

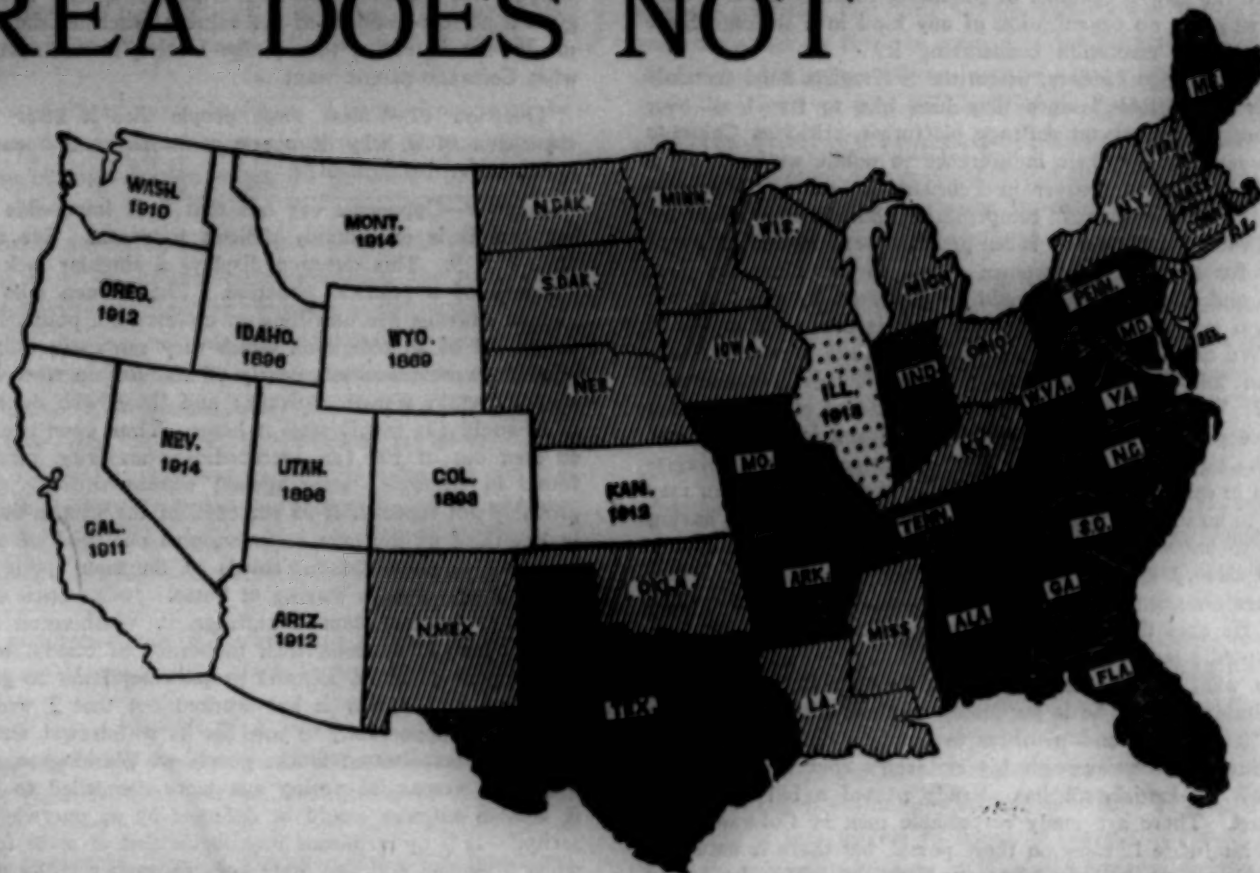
# POPULATION VOTES

## Population of States as Represented by the Figures In the Picture

|                      |           |                      |           |                     |         |
|----------------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|---------------------|---------|
| New York .....       | 9,113,614 | Tennessee .....      | 2,184,789 | Florida .....       | 752,819 |
| Pennsylvania .....   | 7,665,111 | Alabama .....        | 2,138,093 | Maine .....         | 742,371 |
| Illinois .....       | 5,638,591 | Minnesota .....      | 2,075,708 | Oregon .....        | 672,765 |
| Ohio .....           | 4,767,121 | Virginia .....       | 2,061,612 | South Dakota .....  | 583,888 |
| Texas .....          | 3,896,542 | Mississippi .....    | 1,797,114 | North Dakota .....  | 577,056 |
| Massachusetts .....  | 3,336,414 | Kansas .....         | 1,690,949 | Rhode Island .....  | 542,610 |
| Missouri .....       | 3,293,335 | Oklahoma .....       | 1,657,155 | New Hampshire ..... | 430,572 |
| Michigan .....       | 2,810,173 | Louisiana .....      | 1,656,388 | Montana .....       | 376,053 |
| Indiana .....        | 2,700,876 | Arkansas .....       | 1,574,449 | Utah .....          | 373,351 |
| Georgia .....        | 2,609,121 | South Carolina ..... | 1,515,400 | Vermont .....       | 355,956 |
| New Jersey .....     | 2,537,167 | Maryland .....       | 1,295,346 | New Mexico .....    | 327,301 |
| California .....     | 2,377,549 | West Virginia .....  | 1,221,119 | Idaho .....         | 325,594 |
| Wisconsin .....      | 2,333,860 | Nebraska .....       | 1,192,214 | Arizona .....       | 204,354 |
| Kentucky .....       | 2,289,905 | Washington .....     | 1,141,990 | Delaware .....      | 202,322 |
| Iowa .....           | 2,224,771 | Connecticut .....    | 1,114,758 | Wyoming .....       | 145,965 |
| North Carolina ..... | 2,206,287 | Colorado .....       | 799,024   | Nevada .....        | 81,875  |



## S—AREA DOES NOT



## Suffrage States

1,690,949  
 799,024  
 376,053  
 145,965  
 373,351  
 204,354  
 325,594  
 81,875  
 1,141,990  
 672,765  
 2,377,549  
 5,638,591  
 13,828,060

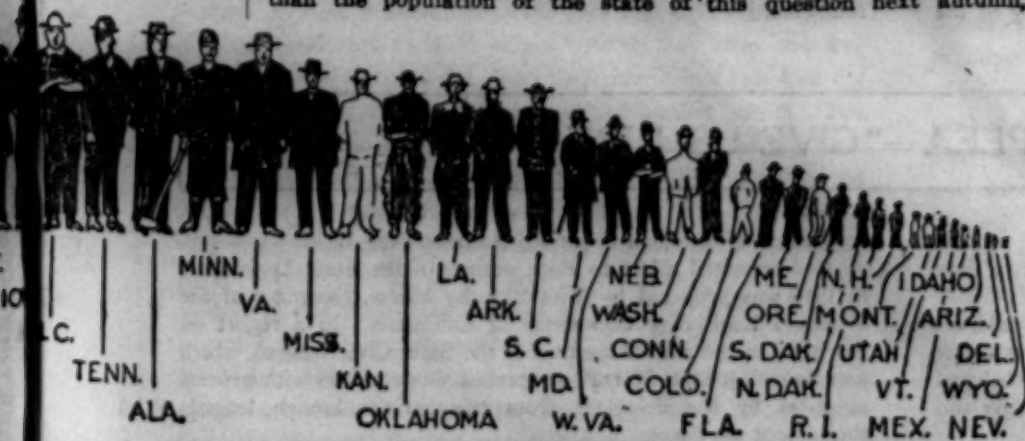
Map Showing Suffrage In United States—White, Equal Suffrage; Tinted, Partial Woman Suffrage; Black, Manhood Suffrage Only.

THE suffragists display a map of the United States on which the woman suffrage states in the west are white, while the eastern states are black. They talk about the vast area of these states and tell us that New York state could be dropped in Montana and be utterly lost. But area does not vote. The suffragists fail to tell their audiences that the entire population of those eleven woman suffrage states is about 900,000 less than the population of the state of

New York. The population of Montana is about half the population of the city of Boston. There are fewer inhabitants in the state of Nevada than in the city of Lawrence, Mass. The density of the population of all those eleven states, plus the state of Illinois, where women have partial suffrage, is only 15.3 persons per square mile, while the density of population of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, which states will vote on this question next autumn, is 279.7

persons per square mile.

Within the last two years woman suffrage has been defeated in Michigan by a majority of 96,144, in Nebraska by a majority of 10,104, in Missouri by a majority of 140,206 and in North and South Dakota by substantial majorities. Ohio has defeated this proposition twice in recent years—in 1912 by a majority of 87,455 and in 1914 by the increased majority of 182,905. These figures justify the saying, "Woman suffrage is going, not coming."



The Suffragists figure it out that 49½ per cent. of the territory of the United States is suffrage territory. That sounds impressive; but it is not territory but people that vote. Would it not be more candid if they said that only 8.9 per cent. of the population of the United States live in full double suffrage territory, or 15 per cent., including Illinois.

Issued by

National Association Opposed To Woman Suffrage

thus far failed to find a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results?

From the largest chamber of commerce to the smallest sewing circle, why has no organization of any kind in a suffrage State ever passed a resolution condemning it?

Answer—Judge Lindsey, whom the Suffragists must certainly consider "respectable," since they hire him to travel all over the country to speak on suffrage platforms, criticizes Colorado women severely for their indifference to public welfare. At a suffrage banquet in Denver in February he said: "When we asked for the employes' compensation bill, where were the women voters of Denver? When protests were entered, I looked around for some of our women voters to plead for the poor women and children who would be benefited by this bill, but there was not a woman present. Where is our adult probation law? We are a suffrage State. Massachusetts is not, but they have an adult probation law. Where is our home-finding society? We have suffrage, but our dependent children in this State are put in homes for dependent children instead of being given the rights of family ties. We are 20 years behind Massachusetts in spite of suffrage!" Again he says that "children may be sent to an institution and adopted without their mother having a right to know what becomes of them! Oh, it is worse than the old slavery days!" He says that the cases coming before his court on sex charges have increased 300 per cent. in late years. He says that "Colorado has made a science of corrupting its public men."

Now what is the result of this frankness? Colorado people are maintaining that he is an enemy of their State, a despoiler of its "fair name," and in order to get him out of public life are trying to do away with his children's court! The lower house of the Legislature has already passed a bill abolishing this court. There are many respectable men in Colorado who agree with Judge Lindsey on these points, but there is naturally small inducement to bear testimony publicly, when the public is so bitter against one who discloses evils in the State. The western States have an intense State loyalty (in which they differ from Massachusetts Suffragists who love to be told that Massachusetts ought to "catch up" with Utah and Wyoming), which makes them resent criticisms. These States are all sparsely settled, even California having only 15 inhabitants to the square mile, as against 418 in Massachusetts, and are all eager to attract population. In order to "boom" their States, they constantly dwell upon the good points, and consider it almost a crime to admit defects. This may perhaps explain why chambers of commerce and sewing circles are not advertising the fact, which is constantly admitted by individuals privately, that woman suffrage is a failure. The Colorado Senate has recently solemnly declared that woman suffrage "to a noticeable degree has inculcated a higher respect for the supremacy of the

law." This statement, made within a few months of the strike horrors, the reign of anarchy and the abdication of State sovereignty for months to Federal troops, is utterly ludicrous, and gives a perfect example of the value of such legislative indorsements—but is, rather than Judge Lindsey's frankness, evidently what Colorado people want.

Question 10—Unless most people like it after they have experience of it, why do opponents warn us that once granted it can never be recalled?

Answer—Opponents say not that it is impossible to repeal, but that it is exceedingly difficult to repeal. See answers to Nos. 2, 8, 9. This question displays a singular lack of understanding of a political situation. The women who object to woman suffrage are unwilling to undertake a political campaign to get rid of an obligation which they can easily shirk. If the question were submitted, nearly all the women who vote would vote to retain woman suffrage; and those who do not believe in it would (as usual) stay at home. Thus, even if as many as 65 men out of 100 (an extraordinary majority, rarely if ever found in elections) were against woman suffrage, they could probably not repeal it if 35 per cent. of the women voted. That is, one-third of the men in favor, plus one-third of the women in favor, would offset two-thirds of the men voting and two-thirds of the women staying at home. Judge Snell of Tacoma says: "I favored woman suffrage in Washington and voted for it. But, in common with thousands of others, who looked at the question as an abstract proposition, I am so greatly disappointed at the way it has worked out that I would to-day welcome an opportunity to vote for its withdrawal, and I believe if it were resubmitted to the people of Washington, and every man and woman of voting age were compelled to vote upon it, woman suffrage would be defeated by an overwhelming majority." It is by no means improbable that at some future time, when a woman suffrage State goes through a really momentous crisis, such as complete State bankruptcy or civil war, the weaknesses of the system will become glaringly apparent. Then so great a majority of men will vote to repeal it that the voting women will be over-borne.

The lesson for male suffrage States to learn from this situation is that the time to oppose woman suffrage is beforehand, not afterward. And that this lesson is being rapidly learned is shown by the fact that since 1912 woman suffrage has made no gains but Nevada and Montana, which together have a population less than that of Pittsburg. While since last November woman suffrage has met defeat in our national Congress and in 16 States—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Delaware, Indiana, Michigan, North Carolina, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, Ohio and Nebraska.

## NEW SUFFRAGIST PLEA—"GIVE US JURY DUTY!"

**T**HE Senate of California in April passed a bill making women eligible to service on juries and making jury duty obligatory upon all voting citizens.

Commenting upon it, the *San Francisco Chronicle* said, as quoted in the *PROTEST* for May: "Should this bill become a law and be enforced, it is not impossible that the sex may rebel and vote for the express purpose of getting rid of both jury duty and voting duty."

The bill was defeated in the lower house.

Shortly thereafter the State Civic League (presumably a body of woman Suffragists) took exception to being thus deprived of their "equal right" to jury service. The next step is indicated by the following clipping:

(From *San Francisco Bulletin*, May 17th)

A determined effort to elect women to the State Legislature in 1916 was proposed by Miss Blanche Morse, chairman of the Woman's Legislative Committee of California. In a report on her work at the annual meeting of the State Civic League, which met Saturday, Miss Morse's suggestion was received with general approval by the delegates from the various branch leagues throughout the State.

"I used to think," she said, in reference to the defeat of the woman's jury bill entitling women to sit on juries in California and making it obligatory that women as well as men shall serve on jury duty when one of their sex is either plaintiff or defendant, "that we should not send women to the Legislature until we

should be able to send picked women, women of distinction, specially educated, and acquainted with every phase of the needs of State and nation. I pictured women with charm of manner and graciousness that should be representative of the highest type of womanhood.

"I have changed my mind absolutely. I do not know why we should not send the common garden variety of woman, just as men send the common garden—often the common weed—variety of men.

"If we cannot get picked women, then let us send what women we can, just so we can get representation there, and so that the bills we propose will not meet the same fate as the jury bill.

"The fate of the jury bill was finally decided in executive session. If a measure proposed by a body of men were to be decided upon in executive session the proposition would have been met with a roar from the friends of the bill on the floor.

"As far as the jury bill was concerned, there was not one voice raised in protest. To insure our getting the bill through the next session we must have women represent us in the Legislature, so that women will still be represented, even if in executive session."

In this connection the following article from the pen of "Raphael," a resident of Seattle, Wash., is timely and valuable:

#### WOMAN AS A JUROR

Every now and then some critical mind questions the ability of a jury to reach a correct verdict, and submits for comparison the European system of verdict by a court unassisted by twelve citizens. It is claimed that the average citizen, with untrained mind and lacking in experience, does not possess the capacity to balance and weigh the evidence, is unconsciously prejudiced and apt to underestimate the importance of some points and to exaggerate others.

In order to ascertain to what extent this is true and if a trial by jury really fails to accomplish its purpose, a series of tests were conducted last year at the University of Harvard by Professor Munsterberg, the recognized authority on applied psychology. With some four hundred members of the class in psychology as jurors, a trial of a constructed case was conducted in such a way that every element of a regular jury trial was present; gradual unfolding of the case through testimony and evidence, analysis of facts, deliberation of the jury and final verdict. The case was presented in three stages. After each stage the students were required to write down their conclusion, based on the evidence, and to discuss the case with the other jurors. The written analysis was to contain their interpretation of the facts and the reasons for reaching the conclusion, with anything else bearing on the subject they saw fit to note. The results were very interesting and seem to refute the statements of the critics. After the first period of the trial a comparatively small percentage of the jurors had reached a correct verdict. After the second stage, when more evidence had been presented, analyzed in writing and discussed, the percentage of correct replies had greatly increased, and after the third stage, when all the facts had been discussed, the percentage of correct replies was so large that the small number of incorrect verdicts among four hundred students could be neglected as natural and expected.

In his analysis of the result Professor Munsterberg calls attention to the fact that the majority had reached a wrong verdict

after the first stage, due to lack of sufficient evidence, but changed their opinion later, as a result of being able to weigh the new evidence correctly, that their written analysis was well presented and shows that the students profited by the discussions with more clear-sighted members of the jury, or were amenable to reason, and that a trial by jury composed of men, while not giving an absolute guaranty of a correct verdict, shows a much greater percentage in favor of it than the critics of the system would admit.

Having reached this conclusion, it occurred to him that a similar trial with a class of women students might give interesting results, and, although not originally contemplated, a class was assembled and subjected to a test under identical conditions, with the only exception that this jury numbered some three hundred students. The results of the test were startling and far-reaching if applied to our court system.

After the first stage of the trial the majority of the verdicts were incorrect. After the second and third stages the result was almost the same, remaining constant. *Not only did the majority reach a wrong verdict, but no amount of additional evidence or discussion could sway them from the prematurely accepted and stubbornly maintained opinion!* The written analysis showed up very poorly and contained irrelevant facts, the discussion was very tame and almost absent. Throughout it was very plain that the women did not discuss the case in the spirit the men did, or with a comparatively unprejudiced mind, amenable to reason, anxious to get at the facts in the case step by step, and getting at them, but each woman was firmly convinced that as long as she was right it was useless to listen to the others, who must be wrong as a matter of course. This was the reason discussion was absent.

A well-known critic, reviewer and writer has said: "Woman does not think, she feels; she does not reason, she emotionalizes; she does not believe, she knows."

When psychology shall have made all laws of mental activity and their difference between the sexes clear, and is taught as a compulsory subject, the sexes will understand each other better, and understanding is the basis of all happiness.

In this millennium the language will be enriched by new words for the mental process employed by woman, or perhaps we will be like the Russian who affixes a feminine ending to verbs and adjectives to denote that a woman did something or that she possesses a certain quality. And why not? Since the method employed by a man to span the connection between cause and effect is called reasoning, and since woman employs another method or process for this purpose—a fact which cannot be denied—even if the result sometimes is the same in both cases, why not call this process emotionalizing or something equally illustrative?

This is no attempt to defame the gentle sex, the facts as above related have been published in the scientific journals and in a popular magazine and are accessible to anyone interested in verifying woman's unfitness for jury duty. The scientific tests on several hundred women should prove this beyond a doubt. And even if a reasonable doubt exists, it is necessary to eliminate woman from the jury, especially since this doubt has been removed from man as a juror through tests equally severe, establishing the fact that man alone thinks, reasons, believes and acts as a juror should to conform to the universally accepted definition of that duty.

## THE RISE OF MILITANCY IN AMERICA

**T**HE recent militant methods of American Suffragists have created wide-spread comment. In fact, the incident of the two women sent by a suffrage president to harass President Wilson during his recent visit to New York has aroused so much unfavorable attention that some suffrage leaders have thought it wise to repudiate the Federal suffrage organization, which had charge of the affair.

The following press clippings, abbreviated, tell the story of the incident and its immediate consequences:

(From New York Times, May 18)

Two women, one avowedly a militant Suffragette who had been imprisoned twice in England, attempted to interrupt the pre-arranged program in order to force a suffrage letter on President Wilson at the Hotel Biltmore yesterday.

The two women were Miss Mabel Schofield, a member of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, and Miss Florence Harmon, secretary of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, and of the Political Equality League.

On reaching the anteroom to the restaurant the women were met by other guards and hotel employees. They said they must see President Wilson personally and exhibited a sealed letter which they wanted to deliver to him. The President's Secretary, Mr. Tumulty, was summoned from the luncheon hall and told the women politely that it would be impossible for them to see the President personally at that moment, but that he would take their letter to Mr. Wilson and would promise them an immediate reply.

Miss Harmon refused to entrust the letter to Mr. Tumulty and said that Mrs. Belmont had instructed her to hand it to the President himself, according to her later version of the incident. A spectator in the anteroom said that she first handed Mr. Tumulty the letter and that he had started away with it when the other woman exclaimed:

"Mr. Wilson is the greatest little evader I know."

On hearing this remark, it was reported, Mr. Tumulty indignantly returned the letter to Miss Harmon with the comment that the women were impolite and that he would not deliver it.

The women remained in the vicinity of the luncheon hall until President Wilson was going out, when they ran toward the door from which he was about to emerge. Secret Service men and guards surrounded the President, and the women, after trying vainly to force their way between the men, jumped up on a plush couch a few feet away and Miss Schofield yelled:

"Votes for Women! Votes for Women!"

After reporting that the harrying of the President was directed by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, President of the Political Equality Association, the New York Sun reports the following statements of Mrs. Belmont:

(From the New York Sun, May 18)

"We shall follow the President everywhere until he says 'Yes' or 'No' on the suffrage question," said Mrs. Belmont afterward. "In every public meeting in any city he will have Suffragists to deal with.

"It is ridiculous that we should not have been able to see him yesterday," she continued warmly. "I have seen all the crowned heads of Europe and there is no one who is guarded like President Wilson. What is the President, anyway? He is only a man who lasts for four years; then sinks into oblivion.

"Imagine the head of a great republic being afraid to walk the streets of one of his own cities without a bodyguard larger than that of the Sultan of Turkey. What is the use of a republic if not to entitle its citizens to speak with their President?

"The appearance of our delegation seemed to create almost a panic at the Biltmore, but I don't see why the President should have been afraid of two women with all that crowd of secret service men and police.

"Of course," she continued, "we would prefer to have an audience with the President by more dignified methods, but since he will not grant us this privilege we must see him in what way we can. He must be made to realize that women really exist.

"This is not an isolated incident. It is the beginning of an organized campaign by the Congressional Union."

This news article was commented upon editorially, in part, as follows:

(From New York Times, May 18)

The three woman Suffragists who slipped past the secret service men at the Biltmore yesterday and tried to force themselves on the President are probably simply illustrations of the bromidic proverb that it takes all sorts of people to make a world. It would be a waste of words to talk of taste and manners and decency to persons who insist on pestering the President at a time like this or to argue that they should refrain from adding mosquito bites to his other troubles. They come, of course, from the Women's Political Equality League, and other and soberer suffrage associations are to be acquired of such tactics.

On the same day the *Evening Sun* declared that such tactics are likely to persuade many voters of women's unfitness for participation in politics.

(From the New York Evening Sun, May 18)

A time when the nation is passing through one of the gravest crises in its history is no time for those with some particular axe to grind or some pet policy for which they desire his indorsement to harass the President of the United States. It is a time when every citizen should not "omit any word or any act" to assure the President of the loyal and undivided support and sympathy of a people who recognize to the fullest extent that questions of their own political predilection pale into insignificance in comparison with the momentous problem which he now has to face for them.

Therefore, even the sincere friends of woman suffrage must regret that some of its propagandists should have chosen the occasion of Mr. Wilson's visit to this city to endeavor "to smoke him out" as to his position on that subject. The fact that the British militants have ceased their campaigning since the commencement of the war and have become simply English women has been a matter of comment universally favorable. The women on this side of the Atlantic would do well to profit by the example of their English sisters and act, for the time being at least, as neither Suffragists nor Anti-Suffragists, but simply Americans.

It will occur to some women and many voters that the lack of appreciation of the proprieties of the present crisis, shown in the untimely onslaught on the President, strongly tends to prove the unfitness of women for participation in politics.

Seeing the trend of public opinion, Mrs. Catt, chairman of the Suffrage Empire State Campaign Committee, came hurriedly back from a lecture trip to issue a repudiation.

(From the New York Sun, May 19)

Mrs. Catt came down from a lecture tour through New York State last night to issue the following statement:

"I believe I can speak authoritatively for 99.9 per cent. of the hundreds of thousands of Suffragists of the Empire State when I declare that they unqualifiedly condemn the attempt made yesterday to harry the President. The great majority of American Suffragists have had no sympathy with the militant tactics of the small British group called Suffragettes, even when applied across the sea, and will not welcome the introduction of those methods here, and especially by British women.

\* \* \* \* \*

"New York is a campaign State and the authority to decide

the question is the electorate of the State—not the President. Even those believing that the shorter and easier process of enfranchising women is by the Federal route should know that it is Congress and three-quarters of the Legislatures which are the deciding authority—not the President."

The following quotations from editorials show the nationwide opinion upon the new suffrage methods:

(From *Omaha World-Herald*, May 20)

The attempt of two Suffragists to force themselves upon the President in a most insolent way is properly denounced by many women in sympathy with that movement. Nothing could be more detrimental to the cause of the Suffragists than the inauguration of the methods of the English Suffragettes, and the act of those women seemed to be the beginning of just such tactics. Whatever a man's opinion of woman suffrage, such acts will have a tendency to prejudice him against it.

(From *Yankton Press and Dakotan*)

It is hard to understand why the ladies of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage continue pestering the President of

the United States. There is no need of English militancy in this country, and no sympathy with it.

These women, and others before them, have shown a strange lack of respect for the Presidential office—a disrespect that male citizens would not dream of showing, no matter what the occasion.

(From *Aberdeen News*)

Those Suffragettes in New York who sought to emulate the example of the Pankhursts of England by "heckling" President Wilson at the naval review the other day, by no means advanced the cause of equal suffrage. The American people will have but little patience with such tactics, especially when they are brought into play at a time of grave international complications.

Seeing the prevailing opinion and fearing its effect upon the fall election, the New York State Suffragists have asked the Congressional Union to keep out of New York, and the militants have written that they will not work in any campaign States "until after the close of their campaigns."

## THE FALSE FOUNDATION OF SUFFRAGE ARGUMENT

BY RUTH BRAZZIL

(From *Houston, Tex., Post*)

**I**N the last decade, a decade which has been productive of many reforms and movements, nothing has attracted more widespread interest and called forth more comment, both favorable and unfavorable, than has woman in her transitional stage from that of homemaker, merely, to her present status, the agitation caused by this transition being very aptly called the "Feminist Movement."

As we know, for many centuries woman went placidly about her duties of homemaking and family-rearing without questioning the right of her lord and master to be the sole representative of the family in governmental affairs. The husband provided the home and he alone superintended the financing thereof, while the wife, in blissful ignorance of all things political, went about her homemaking, ambitious only that her sons grow to be useful, public-spirited, honorable men; that her daughters, like herself, be mistress of the housekeeping art; and that they be modest, gracious, cultured women; and that her home be all that the word "home" implies.

Now, instead of the masculine element of the family alone being the breadwinners and the workers in the industrial world, there are to-day women representatives in nearly all the trades and professions, from the 10-year-old factory girl who, with her earnings of from 20 to 35 cents a day, helps to support a dependent family, to the woman physician who receives a fee of several thousand dollars for a single case. Nor can it be denied that in almost every trade and profession there have entered exceptional women, who have made brilliant successes of their chosen work, but it is not of the exceptional woman and her career we speak, but of the average woman, for it is the average woman who has created the present conditions out of which has arisen the feminist movement.

Of the many branches of the feminist movement, perhaps none is more in the limelight to-day than is the demand for Woman Suffrage, for it seems that not only have several million women invaded the business world, but what appears to be almost a majority are now demanding equal suffrage with their fathers and brothers. They have raised the cry first heard from our forefathers when resenting the tyranny of the English, "taxation without representation is unjust." They go further and assert that the ballot would place women upon an equality with men in education and wages; that it would purify politics; sweat shops would be done away with; child laborers unknown; un-

desirable social conditions a thing of the past; a living wage for working girls assured; in a word, our present perplexing political and economic questions would be satisfactorily solved.

To this argument the man cynic responds that woman's intellect is too limited for her to realize what she is demanding, much less does she possess the intellect to realize the responsibility of the ballot should it be given to her; the thoughtful man realizes that the conditions she describes exist, and, while doubtful as to the result, is willing to put the matter to a test; still another insists that, instead of the benefits which the Suffragists claim would result from equal suffrage, only mischief would come; that the votes cast by the home-making, home-loving class of women would be greatly outnumbered by the votes cast by women of the underworld; while the women who would be classed as "Anti-Suffragists," and from whom the world seldom hears on this question, go smilingly on their way, too busy and too happy to do aught but ignore the question.

But coming to the underlying cause of this unrest on the part of the present-day women we find several facts:

1. That the majority of the Suffragists are women who come from unhappy homes, or who are themselves discontented or disappointed with life and its opportunities; or women who have a love for and are in search of notoriety.

2. That in every part of our country to-day, in small cities and in large, in the towns and in the country places, there are thousands of men who are deliberately, under a cloak generally of fancied incapacity, regarding their wives and daughters as assets and making them work, while these same men either loaf at home, or stay in some unprofitable, easy job so as not to cause comment, or pursue some hobby or notion which brings little or no money into the family purse; that on account of these men non-producers many little children, who should be in school, and many women who should be homemakers, are forced to perform work for which they are unfitted. The fact is undeniable that such children are cheated out of their birthright of healthy mental and physical growth, and that such women are not filling the positions for which they were created.

3. That the average woman is physically incapacitated to perform the work of the average man, and that the average woman still finds the home her most congenial sphere; that when such woman is forced into the commercial world she makes, on account of her physical inequality with her brothers, and on account of

her lack of business ability, but an indifferent and often poorly paid wage earner.

For these abnormal social conditions the Suffragists have but one remedy, and that is Woman Suffrage. But is that the cure? We can but judge the future by the past. In the States where women vote have the results been what the advocates claim? Statistics show that in those States where women vote their wages are on the same scale for the same work as everywhere else; for wages are governed by the law of supply and demand. Multitudes of women earn their living by teaching, yet we find a worse inequality between the pay of men and women teachers in Wyoming, a banner Suffrage State, than in any other State in the Union, the women there receiving an average of \$53.05 a month and the men \$85.26, or more than half as much again. Utah, another leading Suffrage State, is next worse in this regard.

As to the laws affecting the health and general welfare of working women, the non-Suffrage States are far ahead of the Suffrage States, which proves conclusively that woman does not need the ballot for the protection of her interests. For example, in Massachusetts, where the equal suffrage doctrine is not in force, employers are forbidden by statute to deduct from the wages of women for time lost by a breakdown of machinery; in Delaware and Louisiana, both very conservative States, women's wages are exempt from seizure for debt. Laws forbidding night work for women have been passed in sixteen States, in none of which had women the ballot. In our own State we have a nine-hour law for women employees; a law requiring seats for women workers; a pure food law, stringent laws regulating the sale of intoxicants and narcotics; a law making gambling illegal; a law providing that the wife, mother, sister or daughter of a habitual drunkard, or the wife, mother or sister of a minor, after notice, shall be entitled to recover damages from any saloon keeper for selling intoxicating liquor to such habitual drunkard or for allowing such minor to enter and remain in the place of business of such saloon keeper; a child labor law; a law providing for a State bureau of child and animal protection; a law providing for and regulating juvenile courts; a law providing for a State industrial school, and many other laws relating to the protection of women, children and the home. There are now pending in the legislature, with chances which seem greatly in favor of their final passage, a compulsory education bill and a bill providing for a minimum wage and welfare commission for women. Under the Smith-Lever law, now in effect, providing for extension work in home economics, Texas will receive approximately \$8,500,000 annually for the work in this State, which will do much toward promoting the interests of women and children living in the rural districts.

But it is said: "There must surely be something in the claim of the Suffragists that when women are able to make the laws we shall see great moral reforms brought to pass."

That was what Elizabeth Cady Stanton thought when she pleaded from the platform that the only way the slaves could be free was by giving women the ballot. It was what Susan

B. Anthony thought when she raised the cry that if women were allowed to vote the saloon would be abolished.

Well, slavery is no more. What ended it? Not the votes of women, certainly, for they had none. The drink evil is still with us and flourishing with special vigor in those communities where women wield the ballot. Colorado has had Women Suffrage for more than twenty years, yet her leading city, Denver, has acquired the reputation of consuming more liquor, in proportion to its population, than any other city of the same size in the United States with two exceptions, and in the election held in 1910 to decide whether Denver should be "wet" or "dry," the "wet" party won by nearly two to one. In California, since women were granted the ballot, there have been some local elections turning on the liquor question. In Redding the saloon men carried the town by three to one. In the States having equal suffrage, wherein has politics been purified?

The claim that suffrage is a right disproves itself as soon as you look into it. The Supreme Court of the United States settled that question, as far as the Constitution is concerned, as long ago as 1875. Even when the claim is limited to the women who own property it is founded on a false assumption. If property of itself conferred the ballot, a man owning property in two or more States would have the right to vote in each State in which he owns property; but Suffrage is a privilege, and is so restricted that it can only be exercised in one place. It would probably be better for the government if it were restricted still more than it is; for most of the ills we complain of in politics come from the failure of the better element among the privileged class to appreciate their responsibilities and the eagerness of the lower element to use their votes for corrupt and selfish ends.

As an example of what can be accomplished by a woman independent of politics, we have Mrs. Rose Carlson, who has been made "assistant governor" of Colorado by her husband, Governor George A. Carlson, and whose work is done by imparting the feminine point of view to affairs concerning women and children. She says: "Frenzied desire for notoriety and public office, when it becomes an obsession with a woman, is a product of selfishness and intense egotism, and I cannot rid myself of the belief that the woman's first duty is to her home and family, if she has one."

Woman's most effective work is done through the medium of the home, and if equal suffrage does not tend toward the elevation of the home and the things for which the home stands, and does not raise the standard of citizenship, then equal suffrage is a failure. It is woman's privilege and duty to study the live, practical issues of the day, but for every woman there is a large field for activity outside of politics. Progressive educational methods, child labor laws, improved sanitation and a score of kindred topics are demanding attention, and the earnest study and quiet work of a few women, free from all suspicion of self-exploitation will do more toward procuring good legislation and honest administration than an army of Suffragettes with brass bands and banner.

## WHY WARDEN T. M. OSBORNE OPPOSES SUFFRAGE

**T**HOMAS MOTT OSBORNE, the Reform Warden of Sing Sing Prison in New York State, was recently quoted by a Worcester, Mass., newspaper as saying that Woman Suffrage would increase crime, and that he intended to vote against Woman Suffrage in November.

Mr. Osborne denies that part of the interview in which he is made to say that suffrage would increase crime. But he takes occasion at the same time to reaffirm

his opposition to Woman Suffrage and his determination to vote against it in the following letter, written after the interview appeared:

STATE OF NEW YORK

SING SING PRISON

Ossining, May 24, 1915.

Dear Miss Chittenden:

Thanks for your letter of May 22d.

You have my permission to use the following sentence from my letter of May 17th:

"It is true that I am not in favor of suffrage and shall vote against it in November . . . I believe entirely in your statement that the possession of the ballot by women makes them less valuable in social work."

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) T. M. OSBORNE.

Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, N. Y. State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, New York, N. Y.

### "A Noisy and Selfish Propaganda"

(From *Elm Tree Monthly and Spirit of the Age*)

IT is true that I have become definitely opposed, for the present at least, to woman suffrage. The immediate and compelling reason is the fact that I find so many more promising, more serious, more unselfish and more pressing problems relating to human welfare forced on my attention. There are, for example, the questions of disease prevention, of infant welfare, of mental and moral defectives, of immigration, of unemployment, of labor, of housing, of education and also the problems of our country's defense. The air is filled with cries for help, and for all these cries and problems there is need of study and work.

Furthermore, we know that we can by such study and work achieve something. There is no battle line as to these matters. We are all agreed that they need our attention and our best efforts and that such efforts will secure reward and make an assured contribution to human progress. But women voters—will they help or mar? We do not know. Apparently they do nothing.

To me the insistent demand of "Votes for Women" is a distant and selfish cry—an echo of the childish demand: "I want a doughnut, and I want it now!"

Voting is not a right denied, but a privilege granted to the voters. If we give votes to women, we do not correct injustice, we experiment in legislation. If voting by women could be shown to add to the happiness, efficiency and progress of the State, women ought to vote. If voting by men did not do these things, men should not vote, but we should go back to the efficient days of the despot. It has not been shown, so far, that votes by women have added to the real value of the government; until it has done so there should be a decent pause and a co-operation in work on social measures which we know are urgent and workable.

Apparently the propagandists in this country will not listen to this. They cannot appreciate the point of view; they do not even try. I once put it to Mrs. Pankhurst; and she promptly and automatically replied with an attack on the tyranny of man. In England, however, they now admit its force.

But, as I walk down Fifth Avenue and see the garish and vulgar display of "Votes for Women," with its tables of half-true statistics, I feel that I am confronted with the *oriflamme* of a noisy and selfish propaganda, and I am forced as a conscientious citizen to take a stand. And so I urge that the energies and magnificent capacities of women for promoting good causes

be spent just now on more acutely needed lines and more fruitful fields.

Of course, all this is just one person's view, and doubtless advocates of the great cause have an answer, rich in scornful ob-jurgation, which will thrill and satisfy them.

I presume that you rather expected me to say something as a neurologist and one having had some experience with the anatomy and nervous system of women. There are some fundamental differences between the bony and nervous structures of women and men. The brain-stem of woman is relatively larger; the brain mantle and basal ganglia are smaller; the upper half of the spinal cord is smaller, the lower half which controls the pelvis and limbs is much larger. These are structural differences which underlie definite differences in the two sexes. I do not say that they will prevent a woman from voting, but they will prevent her from ever becoming a man, and they point the way to the fact that woman's efficiency lies in a special field and not that of political initiative or of judicial authority in a community's organization. There may be an answer to this assertion, but no one can deny that the mean weight of the O. T. and C. S. in a man is 42 and in women 38; or that there is a significant difference in the pelvic girdle.

Besides, there are qualities in the nervous system of woman that call for protection and make at least certain forms of aggressive and responsible life dangerous. About one-fourth of the insanity of civilized countries is due to serious blood disease, alcohol and drugs. Men are three times more addicted to drugs and alcohol and ten times more the sufferers from blood infection and the accidents that come from an extra-domiciliary life than women. Despite this, there are practically no more cases of insanity among men than among women. In fact, women are rather more subject than men to the pure psychoses. If women achieve the feminist ideal and live as men do they would incur the risk of 25 per cent. more insanity than they have now.

I am not saying that woman suffrage will make women crazy. I do say that woman suffrage would throw into the electorate a mass of voters of delicate nervous stability. We would double our vote, double the expense of elections and add to our voting and administrative forces the biological element of an unstable preciosity, which might do injury to itself without promoting the community's good. I do not assert that this is surely to happen, but there is a reasonable certainty that some of it might if woman suffrage were adopted and taken seriously and in thoroughgoing fashion, as should be the case if women assume the responsibilities of government. So why not go slowly?

Finally, as to anti-suffrage and intelligence. There is, I find, an acute con-

troversy as to which party is the less intelligent, Suffragists or Anti-Suffragists. Real intelligence lies in wisdom; in the power to adjust one's acts and functions to the environment and its problems, and women seem so far to have taken in large measure the suffrage question not intelligently but obsessively. It is adopted as a kind of religion, a holy cult of self and the sex, expressed by a passion to get what they want. There is no program, no promise, only ecstatic assertions that they ought to have it and must have it, and of the wonders that will follow its possession. The minds who lead on a cause may be great and broad, inspired and unselfish, but they are so only when the cause has the same qualities. There are many quiet, sensible women who honestly believe in this cause, but often the active and aggressive workers and writers who think themselves so clever are definitely defective mentally. Measured by fair rules of intelligent testing, I should say that the average zealot in the cause has about the mental age of eleven. They look through a cranny and see a dazzling illumination, beyond which is to them the light of a new Heaven, when it is really only the sublimation of an unoccupied *flaw vital*. Yet they consider everyone who does not believe with them to be unintelligent, so I suppose that they will class the writer as such.

### The Statesmen Opposed to Suffrage

**S**PEAKING of Anna Howard Shaw, the San Antonio (Texas) *Express* says: "The Suffragist leader says nearly \$120,000 was raised by the women at a recent meeting in New York, which is one test of interest in a movement, and the leading politicians, including the Governor, Mayor of New York City and all, 'save the Tammany crowd,' are lending their assistance."

Perhaps Miss Shaw regards the following men as "prominent statesmen" rather than "leading politicians." They are all active opponents of woman suffrage, and yet can hardly be classed as "the Tammany crowd":

Elihu Root  
Geo. W. Wickersham  
Henry L. Stimson  
Chas. S. Fairchild  
Everett P. Wheeler  
Herbert Satterlee  
Gen. Nelson Henry  
Seth Low  
Pierre Mali  
Francis Lynde Stetson  
John G. Milburn  
James M. Beck  
James R. Sheffield  
Sen. James W. Wadsworth  
Horace White

## IMPORTANT WORK BY STATE ASSOCIATIONS

### CONNECTICUT

**T**HE Constitutional Amendment granting suffrage to the women of Connecticut was defeated in the House of Representatives on April 7th. The Anti-Suffragists had to contend against heavy odds. The Democratic Party had put a plank in their platform promising to submit the suffrage question to the people, and many Democrats, though personally opposed to woman suffrage, felt bound to stand by the party pledge. Then, too, the Suffragists spent money lavishly on their campaign. Shortly before their defeat a prominent suffrage agitator said in a letter to a newspaper that they had spent \$50,000 in "peaceful educational work." It may be seen from this statement what their scale of expenditure was.

The Suffragists left no stone unturned in their efforts to influence the Legislators. A number of Suffragists haunted the Capitol every day when the House was in session, buttonholing the men and pouring arguments and entreaties into ears, willing or unwilling. They gave several lunches to the Representatives, at which functions food was served in one room and suffrage speeches in another. On the day of the debate the business of the House was temporarily suspended on account of an avalanche of suffrage telegrams. This item alone cost \$1,200.

Apparently the suffrage leaders felt sure of victory. Up to the last moment they were assuring their followers that they would certainly win. After the count showed that they had lost their chagrin was evident. They did not take their defeat wisely. They publicly lampooned the anti-suffrage workers. They posted in their window and sent out to the newspapers a "black-list" of the men who, they asserted, had promised to vote for them and then failed to do so. This "black-list" aroused intense feeling among the Representatives. The following day the business of the House was again interrupted. Members rose to vindicate themselves and stated emphatically that they had never made any promises to the Suffragists.

These personal attacks have prejudiced the public against the suffrage cause and it will be a long time before such unwomanly conduct will be forgotten in Connecticut. The *New London Day* comments as follows: "If the presence of women in Connecticut politics is ever to work the reformatory marvels which are promised in its behalf, it will be after the feminine politician has removed the beam from her own eye. There is no especial benefit in sight through a mere increase in the present number of mischief-making wire-pullers and lobbyists in the State."

The New Haven Branch of the Connecticut Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage held its annual meeting on May 6th at the home of Mrs. Arthur M. Wheeler and the following officers were elected: Chairman, Mrs. Edward Washburn Hopkins; treasurer, Mrs. George Trumbull Ladd; secretary, Mrs. Clarence B. Bolmer.

The Organizing Members Committee consists of the following ladies: Mrs. William Beebe, Mrs. Winchester Bennett, Miss A. H. Bennett, Mrs. Louis B. Bishop, Mrs. Clarence B. Bolmer, Mrs. Albert S. Cook, Mrs. Franklin B. Dexter, Mrs. John C. English, Mrs. Lewis H. English, Mrs. Henry W. Farnam, Mrs. Ellsworth I. Foote, Mrs. Edward W. Hopkins, Mrs. J. Mason Hoppin, Mrs. Lynde Harrison, Mrs. George T. Ladd, Mrs. Henry R. Lang, Mrs. William A. Rice, Mrs. Henry B. Sargent, Miss M. deF. Skinner, Mrs. Raymond Townshend, Mrs. Williston Walker, Mrs. Arthur M. Wheeler.

The secretary's report showed a growth of 150 per cent. in membership during the past year and every prospect of a more active growth in the near future, for the reason that the matter has assumed such serious aspects that all thinking women are looking into the subject with more intelligence than that of mere "hearsay" or newspaper reports.

The State President, Mrs. Daniel A. Markham, of Hartford, was the principal speaker of the afternoon, and gave a vivid account of the proceedings during the weeks preceding, as well as at the time of the hearing before the State Legislature, when the Antis won out by 24 votes to 18. There are 16,000 women over twenty-one years of age in Connecticut who have put themselves on record as being against universal suffrage, to say nothing of many hundreds of men.

The recent campaign in Connecticut cost the Suffragists twenty times the amount spent by the Anti-Suffragists.

### MASSACHUSETTS

**D**URING May the campaign work was carried on with great activity, and our home speakers, assisted by Miss Marjorie Dorman of the Wage-Earners League of New York. Hon. John A. Matthews of New Jersey and Mr. Alexander Samuel, formerly of London, addressed more than fifty meetings in Massachusetts towns, ranging from the Berkshires to the Cape. The number of Branch Committees has increased to 129 and signatures of both men and women are pouring in at headquarters, while there is an unprecedented demand for literature and information.

Shops have been maintained in East Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Springfield, Bos-

ton and Upham's Corner, and others will be opened in the immediate future.

On Saturday May 15th, what was announced by the press as "the first gun of the anti-woman suffrage campaign" in Massachusetts took place in Tremont Temple, Boston, the audience filling the floor and first balcony.

Thomas J. Kenny, formerly president of the City Council, presided. The speakers were: Hon. Robert Luce, Alexander W. Samuels, a lawyer of London, Eng., and Miss Marjorie Dorman, a New York newspaper woman, and according to her own statement, formerly a Suffragist who has seen a new light.

On May 20th Miss Marjorie Dorman spoke at a rally in Horticultural Hall, Worcester, under the direction of the Worcester Branch.

May 25th a squad of enthusiastic members of the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association left Boston to assist in waging a vigorous campaign against woman suffrage in western Massachusetts.

The plan is to conduct a house-to-house canvass in twenty-five cities and towns of western Massachusetts, calling personally upon every woman and every voter in the interests of defeating suffrage for women, and to stir up interest in the big convention of the Anti-Suffragists in the Springfield Auditorium, June 9.

The Chestnut Hill Branch on the evening of May 27th entertained at a rose supper in Ford Hall. Some five hundred sat at table and the galleries were crowded with those who attended to hear the speakers. Among the guests of honor were Miss Marjorie Dorman, Hon. John A. Matthews, Mrs. A. J. George, Mrs. Henry Preston White and Hon. W. A. Murphy. Mr. Murphy, former secretary to the late Governor Draper, presided at the meeting following the supper and Miss Dorman, Mrs. George and Mr. Matthews made short addresses. The affair was an unqualified success and there is a popular demand for more of these entertainments.

June promises to be even busier than May. Already some fifty meetings have been arranged, and on June 9th and 10th Anti-Suffragists from all over the State will meet in convention at the Kimball Hotel in Springfield. On Wednesday afternoon, the 9th, there will be a reception to the officers and delegates at 3.30 P. M.

Thursday evening there will be a grand mass meeting held in the Auditorium at 8 o'clock, at which, with other speakers of national reputation, ex-Senator Bailey of Texas will make an address.

On June 3d the Association conducted a real old-fashioned country fair and carnival at the Moses Williams estate, Brookline, which was attended by hundreds of women

working for the cause and by many men.

The attractions included the African dodger, wheels of fortune, fortune-tellers, the sale of pink and real lemonade, popcorn and a genuine old-time side show, in which musical members of the Harvard University Banjo and Mandolin Clubs featured. Members of the Vincent Club were active as saleswomen and as assistants in the direction of Midway features.

During the afternoon hundreds of small red balloons bearing the inscription "Vote No" were sold by a corps of attractive young women, and immediately after being paid for were turned loose and sailed away with their message to the finder.

One of the main attractions was a display of dressed dolls grouped about a cradle, said to be more than 200 years old, and many of the dolls were dressed in costumes more than 50 years old.

#### NEW YORK

The summer campaign promises to be an enthusiastic and interesting one. Many garden parties have been held for organization in the State, and recently a Junior League was organized which will have, as the Wage Earners' Anti-Suffrage League has, branches in the towns outside of New York City.

The Wage Earners' League is expressing its opposition on large bills, posted where the traffic is greatest, bearing the words, "Vote No on the Woman Suffrage Amendment, November 2d."

Several meetings are already scheduled for each day during the coming months before the election, and on June 25th Miss Lucy Price will start on an eight-weeks trip, covering the Chautauquas on the Red-path circuit in New York State. Miss Helen Todd of California will speak on the other side.

The men clubs of various churches have asked for speakers to present the anti-suffrage arguments, and several grange meetings are arranged.

A large attendance at the open-air meeting, held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. John Martin of Grymes Hill, Staten Island, heard Miss Alice Hill Chittenden and Mrs. Martin on May 29th. Other meetings are being planned in that county.

A Thé Dansant was held at the Gramatin Inn during the month, where Miss Chittenden and Miss Lucy Price spoke. Roses were sold for admission to the dance floor and the proceeds of the affair were turned over to St. John's Guild.

#### TEXAS

(From a report in the *Houston Post*)  
**T**HURSDAY, March 25th, marked the beginning of an organized protest of the women of this city and State against woman suffrage.

Until a few weeks ago the only public

utterances by the women of Texas on this question came from those who are demanding the ballot, and so aggressive and insistent had they become that many public men and newspapers, assuming that they represented the women of the State, were led to believe that our women generally were demanding the ballot. A large majority of the women of our State—those who are not politicians and have no desire to be—felt that they were being misrepresented and misunderstood on this subject because of their silence.

In this situation there arose one woman with the courage and the spirit of self-sacrifice which was necessary to make a public protest against the effort to thrust man's work and man's duties upon the women of Texas. Supported by the wives, mothers and home-makers from many sections of the State she went to Austin during the recent session of the Legislature, upon the invitation of members of that body, and in a modest and becoming manner, voiced the sentiments of a great majority of our women against what they believe to be an effort to lower the standard of womanhood by placing upon her shoulders the degrading and disagreeable work of politics. That woman was Mrs. James B. Wells, of Brownsville.

On Thursday of this week it was the privilege of about one hundred ladies of Houston to hear Mrs. Wells present to them many reasons for her opposition to woman suffrage and the necessity for those women opposed to the movement to effect some plan of organized effort against it.

Mrs. John T. Garrison, who was in Austin during Mrs. Wells' visit there and aided her in her work, invited her friends among the ladies of the city to her home in the afternoon to meet Mrs. Wells.

Mrs. H. M. Garwood introduced Mrs. Wells as the speaker. Mrs. Wells said, in part:

"Many good women had been misled by the agitators of suffrage into the belief that in that way prohibition, reform in taxation, legislation in the interest of women and child labor and other reforms could be accomplished. She then proceeded to show that the history of woman suffrage where it had been adopted utterly failed to support the claims which are made for it. She regarded woman suffrage as a direct indictment of the men of our country for incompetency in running the government and protecting the women and children from evil, and these men being the husbands, brothers and sons of women—having been reared and trained by their mothers—it was also an indirect indictment of the women who reared such worthless and incompetent sons. She regarded men as better equipped by nature and by centuries of training for the work of running the government than are the women, just as women by nature and experience is better fitted for the higher and holier duties of motherhood, child

training and home-making. She did not agree with the Suffragists that changed conditions had relieved women of their duties in the home or afforded them more leisure for outside activities; but her opinion and observation was that to properly discharge her duties in the home and to society required as much or more time now than ever before, and that the time required to understand and intelligently discharge political duties and responsibilities which suffrage would bring would necessitate the loss of that much time and attention to the home and family."

At the close of Mrs. Wells' talk, Mrs. B. F. Bonner urged the ladies present to use their influence to prevent the adoption of woman suffrage in Texas.

The Texas Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has been organized with the following officers: President, Ira Jones; first vice-president, Mrs. G. F. Arnold; second vice-president, W. G. Love; third vice-president, Mrs. B. F. Bonner; fourth vice-president, Mrs. R. M. Johnston; secretary, R. S. Yocum; treasurer, B. F. King; membership committee, Mesdames Jonathan Lane, E. H. Bailey, E. J. Eyres and George W. Heyer, C. W. Scott; publicity committee, Mesdames Bates Allen, Elinore McCarron and R. S. Yocum; advisory committee, Mesdames Charles Stewart, H. M. Garwood, Rosine Ryan, Frank Reichardt, Frank Andrews, W. C. Abbott, J. M. Garrison, Mabel F. Smith, Julia Huston, J. F. Wolters and Lewis Sinsheimer; social committee, Mrs. Bessie Kirby Stewart; committee on constitution and by-laws, Mrs. James Wells, chairman.

#### WISCONSIN

**T**HE recently organized Milwaukee Branch of the Wisconsin Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has elected the following officers to serve for two years: President, Mrs. C. E. Estabrook; vice-president, Mrs. L. G. Pierson; secretary, Miss Sophie Nachman, and treasurer, Mrs. William Wegner.

The organization already has a membership of 1,200 and hopes to make a canvass of the city in order to increase that number. There are no dues and expenses are met by voluntary contributions.

The officers of the Madison Branch are: Mrs. Frank W. Hoyt, president; Mrs. R. G. Thwaites, first vice-president; Mrs. Victor Leuher, second vice-president; Mrs. F. C. Sharp, secretary; Mrs. J. W. Hobbins, Treasurer.

Board of Directors: Mrs. T. C. McCarthy, Mrs. S. H. Moore, Mrs. C. E. Buell, Mrs. W. S. Main, Mrs. G. C. Comstock, Mrs. M. G. Ford, Mrs. A. G. Schmedeman, Mrs. F. W. Montgomery, Mrs. Phyllis Frawley, Dr. Sarah G. Vernon, Mrs. J. O. Davidson, Mrs. Frank G. Brown, Miss Genevieve Mills.

## "THERE SEEMS TO BE A QUESTION ABOUT DR. SHAW'S FACTS"

(From the Detroit Free Press)

**L**UDINGTON, Mich., May 2.—Under the heading, "Why Michigan Town Adopted Prohibition," and with further headings and text arranged to give the impression that it described an incident in the recent local option campaign, the Chicago Daily News reprints from the Metropolitan Magazine an article by the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw.

The part of the article quoted is regarded as so vicious in its attack on Ludington as a civilized community, and the Chicago newspaper's handling of it is called so unscrupulously misleading by citizens of that city that Mayor Keiser, after a thorough investigation, sent the following letter to Dr. Shaw:

"Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, "May 1, 1915.  
President National Woman's Suffrage Ass'n.

Dear Madam:

"As Mayor of the City of Ludington, Michigan, I am specially interested in an article, of which you are the author, appearing in the April number of the Metropolitan entitled "The Great Cause." You write of an incident said to have occurred in Ludington when you were delivering a lecture upon temperance in an old skating rink. The statement is made that some one set fire to the building and that the building was burned, or partially burned, and that at the election following, Ludington voted strongly in favor of prohibition.

"This is a matter in which every citizen and resident of Ludington is deeply interested. We do not desire to allow such a statement made concerning our city to remain unchallenged, if it is not true. Your article has been used by the Chicago Daily News in its issue of April 30, 1915, in a way that makes it appear that the incident of which you wrote occurred in the campaign on local option just ended.

"Frankly, after having investigated, I am at a loss to understand when this incident may have occurred, and I hereby request you to give me the date, at least the year, when you were in Ludington and delivered a lecture in a skating rink to which any one set fire. In justice to our city, we insist that you specify the date of your visit.

"Very truly yours,

A. A. KEISER, Mayor."

As to the manner in which the Chicago newspaper reprinted Dr. Shaw's article it is necessary only to say that Dr. Shaw did not take part in the recent local option campaign.

In her article, Dr. Shaw is eloquently descriptive in her location of the hall and the incidents connected with her supposed experience, which she described as the most dramatic of her career. However, there is no record of any such meetings ever having been held in Ludington, and no part of the statement is within the memory of the oldest living residents of the city. Describing her visit to Ludington, Dr. Shaw writes:

"The editor of the leading newspaper was with the temperance workers. He warned me that the liquor people threatened to 'burn the building over my head' if I attempted to lecture."

Dr. Shaw goes on to describe the hall, which, she says, was used as a skating rink. "Just opposite my platform was a small gallery and above that, in the ceiling, was a trap door."

Regarding this description, Mr. F. N. Latimer, active "dry" worker, who came to Ludington in 1881, says that he remembers a wooden building in Ludington used as a skating rink, which was destroyed by fire, but there was no temperance lecture going on and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was not present.

Dr. Shaw continues:

"Before I was speaking ten minutes I

saw a man drop through the trap door. As he reached the floor he shouted 'Fire,' and rushed out into the street."

Dr. Shaw describes the panic and her own conviction that the cry was a trick to break up the meeting. "Then," she writes, "a few words were hissed at me that made my heart stop beating.

"There is a fire, Miss Shaw. For God's sake, get the people out quickly."

Dr. Shaw describes how she reassured the people until they were all safe. "When the last of them had left the building," she writes, "the flames had begun to eat through the wooden walls and the clang of the fire engines was heard outside."

In reply Mr. Latimer and others declared that Ludington never had a fire engine. Furthermore, that Ludington never had a rink in which there was a gallery.

By the evidence of the oldest living citizen of Ludington, Mr. James Foley, who came there in 1864, a retired lumberman, director of the First National bank and a member of the Board of Trade, there was no such incident as described by Dr. Shaw.

Dr. Shaw's description is concluded in the following words:

"At the following election we carried Ludington for prohibition by a big majority."

Regarding this statement, the Mayor finds, the history of Michigan and of Ludington augmented by Michael B. Danaher, former Mayor of Ludington, who came to the city in 1869, is to the effect that Michigan was "dry" under its original constitution and remained so until the constitution was amended. Mason county never was "dry" after that constitutional amendment and Ludington never voted "dry," not even in the last election.

Under the circumstances there seems to be a question about Dr. Shaw's facts.

## THE LIQUOR INTERESTS AND THE SUFFRAGISTS

(From Daily State Gazette, Trenton, N. J., May 24.)

It is not pleasing to the man on the side lines to hear Suffragists charging the antis with being in cahoots with the liquor interests and white slavery.

No fair-minded man believes they are. They are contesting for something they believe to be right. So are the Suffragists, who are surely hurting their cause by continuing this unwarranted and serious charge against women who do not want the privilege of voting.

Our suffrage friends should not forget

that they are dependent upon men for the right to go to the polls and cast their votes, and the average man resents words or actions that reflect upon the honesty, the purity and the righteousness of the opposite sex.

Few of them will be won over to the votes for women standard by such methods as are calculated to lower home-loving women who are sincerely protesting against a privilege that the Suffragists would force upon them to the level of conscienceless liquor dealers and traffickers in women for immoral purposes.

If it were a fact that the antis are working hand in hand with the liquor interests and white slavery, would not the Suffragists make a great mistake in trying to place the vote in their hands?

Way down deep in their hearts, the Suffragists do not believe that their sisters who are opposed to votes for women are in alliance with liquor dealers and white slavers. We believe that we are absolutely correct when making this assertion; and for the sake of the cause, if for no other reason, Suffragists should quit that line of talk.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

St. Paul, June 3.—Four more Minnesota counties to-day are in the dry column as the result of Tuesday's option elections.

The Woman Suffrage County Option Bill was killed in the legislature of Wisconsin by a vote of 52 to 27. Through a transposition of numerals the morning papers following the vote announced that the vote was 25 to 27—where instead the vote was almost two to one against the passage of the bill.

(From the New York Evening Sun)

The size of a suffrage horse we saw the other day compared with the size of the van it was pulling—an immense wagon capable of holding a million ballots and ten women—suggested that the horse should be inside and the women furnishing the motive power. Votes for horses!

(From San Francisco Bulletin, May 4)

A wife's separate property is liable for debt in suits to collect grocers' bill under a bill by Scott, passed by the Senate. Another bill passed, Luce author, raises the rate of interest on judgments from 7 to 10 per cent. It is designed to prevent frivolous appeals to the higher courts.

"I want the women here to-day to forget everything but the 2d of November. Whatever demands are made on your sympathies turn them all aside until this first great freedom is accomplished. Then we will look after other things"—Anna Howard Shaw in a recent speech. There is nothing extraordinary about this request from the Suffragists' standpoint. It is in line with their "will and won't" pledge in which all members of a certain suffrage organization agree to abandon all charities, giving them neither personal service nor money "until suffrage is won in New York."

(From The Salem Pioneer-Register)

With all due respect for the women backing the equal suffrage movement, it must be admitted that they spring some fool notions occasionally. Instance the telephone publicity method adopted for a time by the New York women in their active campaigning. Instead of saying "hello" when answering the telephone, every good Suffragist when she took down the receiver would say "votes for women"

—the theoretical value of this publicity method being based on the psychological effect of repetition. The New Yorkers might get by with such proceeding, but in South Dakota—well, we wouldn't just like to try it out here; besides natural scruples, we have a handy railroad commission which is frequently rung in to adjust telephone mix-ups.

The women of Elyria and Swansea were heard to utter bitter complaint against the school board at the recent election. Why did the board pick wash-day for election? For no other reason, of course, than to curtail the women's vote.

"I got to do my washing, haven't I?" said one indignant housewife. "Clean schools? Sure, I want clean schools, but my young family's got to have clean clothes, hasn't it? Monday's wash-day and it's no time for a school election."

The woman at the wash-tub was adamant to all arguments of the election workers. According to all traditions, Monday was "wash-day." To make use of it as election day was a violation of this tradition not to be countenanced.

In most of the precincts the women were as active as the men. Each candidate had women workers at the polls.

THE following from the last issue of *The Red Cross Magazine* is especially recommended to those who think women need the ballot before they can accomplish anything worth while in the service of mankind:

## SHE OF THE RED CROSS

(By James Hay, Jr.)

She fulfils the dramatic destiny of woman,

Because she stands, valiant, in the presence of pestilence,

And faces woe unafraid,

And binds up the wounds made by the wars of men.

She fights to defeat pain,

And to conquer torture,

And to cheat death of his untimely prey,

And her combat is for neither glory nor gain, but, with charity and mercy and compassion as her weapons, she storms incessantly the ramparts of grief.

There thrills through her life never the sharp, sudden thunder of the charge; never the swift and ardent rush of the short, decisive conflict—the tumult of applauding nations does not reach her ears—and the courage that holds her heart comes from the voice of her own invincible soul.

She fulfils the dramatic destiny of woman

because, reared to await the homage of man and to receive his service, she becomes, when the war trumps sound, the servitor of the world.

And because, whenever men have gone into battle women have borne the real burden of the fray.

And because, since the beginning of time, man, when he is hurt or maimed, turns to her and finds, in her tenderness, the consolation and the comfort which she alone can give.

Thus, She of the Red Cross stands to-day, as woman has stood always, the most romantic, the most courageous and the most merciful figure in all history.

She is the Valor of the World.

WHEN the women's peace party was organized by the former vice-president of the National Suffrage Association, the "votes for women" part of its program was tacked away down in the "platform" so that it looked like a pillow instead of a "plank." This was to get hold of the "antis" or "neutrals" on the woman suffrage question, and yet indirectly benefit the "cause." But some one blundered. After many press notices regarding the claim that all women of all nations want peace, the peace party held an International Convention at the Hague several weeks ago. A militant Suffragette from England astonished the delegates by telling them that for every English woman who wants peace at present there were a hundred thousand at home who wanted war to the bitter end; and a Belgian lady protested that her country women would stand for no peace until their nation was restored to freedom.

So the "peace party" adjourned, its president announced that housework is "restful" to women, that nothing is accomplished "by force," and then took her petition to Berlin, delivering it, according to press reports, on the eve of Italy's entrance into the war by popular demand, "to satisfy her national aspirations." "And the worst is yet to come," perhaps, before the "women's peace party" comes into the limelight again. And meanwhile, to show their earnest desire for peace and quiet, the Suffragists march in parades led by a mail-coated Joan of Arc, and Mrs. Belmont's American militants announce their firm resolve to pester the President every time they get the opportunity.

The theory seems to be that if we start a sex war, the world war will cease; that by dividing women into fighting factions in politics, some one will discover a magic wand of perpetual peace. But the truth is the reverse.

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FOUNDED 1895

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